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ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF

SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS.

SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS KNT

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ORIGINAL UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF

SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS,

AS AN ARTIST AND A DIPLOMATIST.

PRESERVED IN H. M. STATE PAPER OFFICE.

WITH

AN APPENDIX

OF DOCUMENTS RESPECTING

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THE EARL OF SOMERSET'S COLLECTION;
THE GREAT MANTUAN COLLECTION;
THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, GENTILESCHI, GERBIER, HONTHORST,
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ETC., ETC., ETC.

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY

W. NOËL SAINSBURY.

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TO

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BY

HIS OBLIGED AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

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PREFACE.

I HAVE been frequently asked, while engaged upon this book, what there could be new to say about Rubens. I have been told that there were critical notices and remarks without number, on his works; that Dr. Waagen had written his biography; that Emile Gachet had printed a collection of his letters; that Michel had written his "*Histoire;*" that, as late as 1854, Alfred Michiels had published "*Rubens et l'école d'Anvers;*" that the subject was exhausted; and that there was, in fact, nothing left unsaid about the great Flemish artist. Such remarks are true and conclusive, but only so far as they apply. My answer will, I hope, be found not less so. In Her Majesty's State Paper Office there is preserved a vast and noble collection of Original Papers and Documents. They are, of course, chiefly of an official and diplomatic character, but there is also much that is curious and valuable of a private nature. This rich mine has been rarely worked; and from it all the letters, with but few exceptions, contained in this volume, have been selected. The Earl of Arundel, Sir Dudley Carleton, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Balthazar Gerbier, Sir Isaac Wake, and other public men, kept up a regular correspondence with most of the celebrities of their time. During several years I had observed that their private letters had frequently found their way into the State Paper Office, together with their public dispatches; and from these, I have taken, much that is new and valuable. The introductory pages are taken from those printed sources acknowledged to be the most valuable; and

where there was discrepancy in date or detail, I have endeavoured to select the most authentic account, and appended notes of reference. An interleaved copy of *Descamps*, with valuable manuscript notes by M. François Mols, a native of Antwerp, who resided there during the greater part of the eighteenth century—kindly lent to me by His Excellency Mons. Sylvain Van de Weyer, the Belgian Minister—has been of the greatest assistance to me in these inquiries.

In the first letter[1] Carleton gives so curious a picture of Antwerp, the city with which the name of Rubens is indissolubly connected, that it forms an appropriate introduction to the correspondence which follows. Soon after Carleton had arrived as Ambassador at the Hague, he took the opportunity to make a petty progress, "choosing rather," he remarks, "to acquaint himself with these places in the beginning of his residence, whereby the knowledge of them might be of some use, than (as many do) at parting, to find talk when they come home." It was on this occasion that, most probably, he first became acquainted with Rubens. A letter from Toby Matthew, written a few days afterwards, informs us that he was in negotiation with Rubens for a hunting-piece, "according to Carleton's commission."[2] Through this commission some of the earliest of the works of Rubens were introduced into England, and it is through Carleton's great love of the arts, his untiring industry, zeal, good taste, and judgment, that we are indebted for some of the noblest and choicest works of art that England possesses. But I shall have occasion more particularly to speak of this great patron of the arts by-and-bye. Toby Matthew and George Gage seem to have acted as Carleton's agents about this time, in negotiating an exchange of a chain of Diamonds belonging to Lady Carleton for a picture by the hand of Rubens. There are several letters on this subject[3] which will be read with interest. They show the price that Rubens set upon his works at this period, and the firmness with which he kept to his original and

[1] Letter i., p. 11. [2] Letter iii., p. 14. [3] Pp. 14—25.

well-considered estimate of the value of his own labours. "His demands," says Toby Matthew, "are like the laws of the Medes and Persians which may not be altered."[4]

The careful study which Rubens gave to every detail in his pictures, the pains he was at rightly to ascertain the most minute particulars of any subject he undertook, and the antiquarian knowledge he displayed, are vividly set forth in a characteristic letter[5] written by him to a celebrated Flemish antiquary in 1618. With reference to this letter I am fortunately able to give the opinions of two gentlemen, who speak in relation to such subjects with an authority which every one will admit. Mr. Layard, in reference to this letter, observes, "It is both interesting and instructive, as showing the extent of Rubens's reading, and the attention he paid to the details of his pictures." Sir John Gardner Wilkinson also says, "I have read this letter with much interest, and return it you with many thanks." Another illustration I would give of Rubens's great attention to detail. In several of his paintings of "The Crucifixion," and on his celebrated "Descent from the Cross," the scroll containing the superscription, written by Pilate, is not only written in real Hebrew characters, but in the dialect of Aramæan or Chaldee, used in Palestine at the time of the Crucifixion, that dialect which St. Paul most probably could speak, write, and which he used when he addressed the Assembly in the Hebrew tongue. Rubens therefore was at the pains either to get his Hebrew properly composed for him by one of the great scholars of his day, or, which is more probable, he was himself a critical scholar. It is somewhat astonishing that other celebrated painters have not practised the like accuracy, and still more surprising that, in one or two copies of Rubens's picture, the superscription is copied so carelessly that it is impossible to read it at all.

A second and more important negotiation with Rubens, about an exchange with Carleton of pictures for the collection of antiques and statues belonging to the latter, has a considerable degree of

[4] Letter xliv., p. 53.

[5] Letter xviii., p. 25.

interest. Mr. Carpenter, of the British Museum, to whom I am indebted for the use of his published English translations of several of the Italian letters in this correspondence, has, it is true, previously made this transaction known, but I have found many additional papers, which explain the origin of the negotiation and make the history of it more complete. The tone of these letters reflects the highest credit on both parties. Carleton and Rubens were both equally pleased at the result of their correspondence. Carleton not only esteemed Rubens as "the Prince of Painters and of Gentlemen," but told him so in the most flattering manner.[6]

Lord Danvers, afterwards Earl of Danby, took considerable pains to get a good painting by Rubens. He had, in his possession, a picture of the Creation by Il Bassano, which, was "very much cracked and spoyled, the color in many places being come off,"[7] and he was anxious that Rubens should repair it. This circumstance was fertile in important results; Rubens, in consequence, was commissioned to paint a picture for the Gallery of Charles Prince of Wales. This picture was not approved of; Lord Danvers complained[8] that "in every painter's opinion he had sent a piece scarce touched by his own hand, and the postures so forced, as the Prince will not admit the picture into his gallery." His Lordship wished that "the famous man would do some one thing to register or redeem his reputation." He says that Prince Charles at that time possessed of his paintings only "Judith and Holofernes, of little credit to his great skill."

"The Creation" which, it will be seen, rendered closer Rubens's connection with the Court of England, was purchased in Italy, in 1614, for Lord Danvers by Sir Dudley Carleton, the great instrument in the acquisition of most of the celebrated pictures which found their way into England about this period. In 1616 pictures to the amount of £200 were sold by Carleton to the Earl of Arundel and Lord Danvers.[9]

[6] Letter xxiv., p. 37.
[7] Letter xl., p. 50.
[8] Letter xlix., p. 57.
[9] Letter xxx., *et seq.*, pp. 270 *et seq.*

Vexed at the dissatisfaction evinced in a letter to King James's Resident at Brussels, Rubens repudiates the idea of gainsaying what he had previously asserted as to the worth of this picture; "that is not my way of acting."[10] He candidly confesses that it was not painted entirely by his own hand, but adds, if it had been, "it would be well worth twice as much" as was agreed upon; nevertheless, in the most gentlemanly and generous manner, he submits himself to the good pleasure of Carleton, whom, he says, "I esteem more than any body would believe." Perhaps one of the most interesting letters in this volume was written by Rubens in consequence of the bad reception of this picture. Trumbull saw him again on the subject, and the written reply of Rubens[11] contains points of no little weight in explanation of his personal and artistic qualifications. "Every one according to his gifts," is the astute remark of this great painter; "my endowments are such that I have never wanted courage to undertake any design, however vast in size or diversified in subject."

The purchase, by the Duke of Buckingham, of the celebrated collection of antiques, gems, and pictures, amassed by Rubens —the antiques and statues must have been those previously belonging to Carleton—is an incident to be found in every biography of the artist; but the letters in this volume throw additional light on this well-known purchase. I am inclined to believe that it was never completely effected; that the greater part of the collection was sent to England there can be little doubt,[12] but it is equally certain that the purchase had been agreed upon more than two years before it was completed,[13] even if it were then. Gerbier, in 1640, says,[14] "when the late Duke of Buckingham had bought a *great deal* of Sir Peter Rubens's rarities, his design was to get an assignment on part of that debt [*i. e.* a debt owing from the Low Countries to Charles I.] which Sir Peter Rubens made difficulty to accept."

From the acquaintance that Rubens made with the Duke of

[10] Letter xlvii., p. 56. [11] Letter liv., p. 59. [12] P. 65, note 96.
[13] Pp. 70 and 103. [14] P. 71, note 109.

Buckingham while at Paris, in April, 1625, and again at Antwerp in the following September, out of which the well-known purchase of his Cabinet took its rise, negotiations sprang of a very different character: negotiations in which Rubens was engaged for many years, and to which England is indebted for a visit from this extraordinary genius. War, fierce and intolerable, obstinate and fatal, had been raging for some years between the Catholic States in Flanders, under the dominion of the King of Spain, and the Seven United Provinces, which had thrown off the Spanish yoke. The Infanta Isabella, the sister of Philip III., and the Governor of the Netherlands, who, since the death of her husband in July, 1621, had found the advice of Rubens more necessary than ever, employed him in negotiating for a general suspension of arms between Great Britain, Denmark, Spain, and the States General of the United Provinces. Balthazar Gerbier, Master of the Horse to the Duke of Buckingham, and whom he accompanied in most of his travels, met Rubens at Paris, in April, 1625.[15] On that occasion Rubens made proposals to Gerbier for effecting a peace, and a correspondence arose out of this circumstance. Gerbier was sent to Flanders and Holland with powers to treat with Rubens, as the accredited Agent of the Court of Brussels, either for a peace or a suspension of arms; and Lord Carleton, who had returned to England after having been ten years Ambassador at the Hague, was again sent there in 1627, to assist Gerbier's labours with his influence. This correspondence is entirely new. The general reader will not fail to discover in these letters an extraordinary aptitude in the great artist for political negotiation; the diplomatist will at once detect the ability of Rubens, who, through his untiring zeal and perseverance, brought these negotiations to a successful termination. His letters to the Duke of Buckingham and to Gerbier furnish a most vivid picture of his character. A high and noble tone, dignity and firmness, cautiousness, exquisitely united to the most polite courtesy, elegant composition, and elevated sentiment, at once show the education of the gentleman

[15] Pp. 67, 68.

and the mind of the man. It is a remarkable fact, that in no instance, with the exception of a foolish jealousy of the old Duke of Arschot,[16] have I been able to find any reflection prejudicial to the character of Rubens, or in any ways affecting the universal popularity which he seems to have enjoyed throughout his long career.

The account that the Earl of Carlisle gives Buckingham of his interview with Rubens, whom he met at Van Dyck's house in Antwerp, is full of interest.[17] Rubens soon after goes to Spain, where we find him writing from Madrid to Lord Carlisle, with the same hopes still at heart, "that the interests of the Kings our Masters will be made inseparable, and their reputation and glory so united that there will remain no scruple between their servants in serving either the one or the other."[18] Extraordinary changes had taken place since the days of Elizabeth and the Spanish Armada. James I., by his timid policy and over-anxious desire for a Spanish alliance, had completely altered the relative positions of the two countries. When Charles I. ascended the throne, his favourite, Buckingham, was permitted to act pretty much as he liked. On account of some jealousy or anger at Buckingham's conduct while in Spain, in 1623, in company with Prince Charles, the Conde d'Olivarez thoroughly hated the Duke. Buckingham was not slow to resent this, and under a pretext, trifling even if true, forced on a war with Spain. While Buckingham and Olivarez lived, and ruled the affairs of either nation, not much difference in policy could be looked for; but no sooner was the former assassinated, in August, 1628, than Rubens set out for Spain, and negotiations recommenced, which happily ended in a peace being concluded between the two nations, on $\frac{5}{15}$ November, 1630. All the biographies of Rubens give erroneous dates to his itinerary at this period; the letters printed in this volume are of no little value on that point. Rubens started in August or September, 1628, for Spain, which he left on the 27th of April, 1629, and arrived at Paris on the 12th of May following. From

[16] Pp. 178-9, note 231.

[17] Letter ciii., p. 119.

[18] Letter civ., p. 124.

thence he went to Brussels, stayed a few days at Antwerp, and embarked at Dunkirk for London, which he reached between the 20th and 27th of May, 1629, in company with his brother-in-law, Henry Brandt, and several attendants.[19]

Charles himself was evidently anxious that the coming of Rubens should not be delayed.[20] The King sent one of his own ships to Dunkirk, to bring him to England, "for Rubens was mightily afraid of the Hollanders, and except a ship come to receive him here, he is of intention to return back; he only does expect here for a resolute answer." [21]

Although the correspondence relating to this mission of Rubens to England is not by any means voluminous, the nature of his employment is clearly explained,[22] and it is equally clear that France was extremely jealous of his negotiation.[23] Rubens's visit to this country is, to Englishmen, one of the most interesting events in his life. Few details are known concerning it, so that one or two may be thought worthy of notice in this place.

After he had been in London about a month, in company with Sigr. Barozzi, the Duke of Savoy's Secretary, his own chaplain, and several others, he took boat for Greenwich. In shooting London Bridge the boat was overturned, in consequence of some movement of one of the company—a priest or chaplain—arising out of timidity. The chaplain was drowned, and Barozzi himself was hardly saved by one of the party catching hold of one of his spurs at his third rising to the top of the water.[24] What a happy escape for the Great Artist!

On the 23rd September, 1629, Rubens paid a visit to Cambridge in company with Lord Holland, the Chancellor of the University, the French Ambassador, Henry Brandt, his brother-in-law, and others. A brilliant assembly of noblemen and gentlemen was there at the same time, many of whom, together with Rubens, had the Honorary Degree of Master of Arts conferred upon them.[25] He most probably visited several parts of England.

[19] P. 130. [20] Letter cx., p. 127. [21] Letter cix., p. 127.
[22] P. 130. [23] Letter cxix., p. 137. [24] Letter cxvi. p. 133.
[25] P. 138.

Mr. H. A. J. Munro, has a fine portrait of old Parr, said to have been painted at Shrewsbury by Rubens. Gerbier's letter to Cottington, the English Ambassador at Madrid, written about five days before Rubens left England, contains several curious particulars. He says that Charles I. had *secretly* promised to confer upon Rubens the honour of knighthood, but that when he took his leave of the King, His Majesty did not do so.[26] It is, however, well known that he was knighted by King Charles on 21st February, 1630, and that there was added to the arms of the new Knight a canton, containing the royal lion of England. He was also presented with a diamond ring and a hatband worth £500, which His Majesty had previously purchased of Gerbier.[27]

Whilst in London, Rubens lived in the house of Balthazar Gerbier, who was paid, by the King's command, all his expenses incurred during Rubens's residence.

There is an interesting "relation of the ceremony that passed in Spain at the publication and swearing the peace by the King of Spain."[28] Just one year before that event, the Spanish Ambassador had his first public audience with the King and Queen in the Banquetting Hall at Whitehall, and it is somewhat singular that the same complaints with which we are now familiar were made on that occasion by the ladies present. Carleton, then Secretary of State, tells Cottington that the number of ladies was so great, that they reached to the very door, "and yet were there many fallings out for spoiling one another's ruffs by being so closely ranked."[29]

After the death of his great patron the Infanta Isabella, in 1633, Rubens took little part in political transactions. The treaty with the Catholic provinces died with the Infanta, although Rubens had returned from the Hague satisfied with having procured the introduction of a peace;[30] which, however, observes Sir William Boswell, the King's Resident at the Hague, "a succession of young and warmer blood will hardly entertain with

[26] Letter cxxxi., p. 145. [27] P. 146. [28] P. 154, note 207.
[29] Letter cxxv., p. 142. [30] P. 157.

the like devotion."[31] We cannot omit calling attention to Rubens's letter to Junius, written in 1631.[32] His critique on one of this learned man's most valuable works, and his remarks on the great early Italian Masters, will doubtless be read with interest.

A very full account of the pictures painted by Rubens for the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall will be found in this volume. Many letters relating to this subject supply details and contain particulars entirely new.[33] Although Rubens does not appear to have been commissioned to paint these magnificent pictures until he visited England in 1629, when he made the sketches for them; still it is quite clear, from a letter written by himself, that, as early as 1621, before the new Banqueting House was finished, he was the artist selected for that work.[34]

Such was the confidence inspired by the transactions which the King had with Rubens, that we find His Majesty offering the artist a pension if he would remove to Brussels, and act there as political agent to the English Government.[35]

The last letters relating to Rubens to which we would draw attention, have an interest of a somewhat painful nature. Queen Henrietta Maria was anxious to have her Cabinet at Greenwich decorated with paintings. Edward Norgate was instructed, through Will Murray of the King's Bedchamber, to commission Jacques Jordaens, a pupil of Rubens, to paint these pictures, which were to consist of nine pieces for the ceiling and thirteen to decorate the four sides of the room. But Gerbier, an artist himself, objected to Jordaens being engaged on a work of such importance.[36] Rubens and Gerbier, throughout the correspondence in this volume, are represented as having maintained a constant friendship. Gerbier strongly recommended Rubens as a fitter artist than Jordaens. "They are," he says, "both Dutchmen, and of the two, most certaine Sir Peter Rubens is the gentilest in his representations; his landskipps more rare,

[31] Letter clxix., p. 182.
[32] Letter cxxxvii., p. 159.
[33] Pp. 183, 184.
[34] Letter liv., p. 61.
[35] Letter cci., p. 207.
[36] P. 211.

and all other circumstances more proper."[37] But Gerbier's recommendation was not adopted; he still, however, urged that Rubens should be put upon the pictures for the ceiling, while Jordaens should undertake those for the four sides of the room. An objection arose which prevented this arrangement from being carried into effect. Rubens demanded £240 more than Jordaens for the work; still Gerbier would not remain satisfied. He wrote to Charles I.[38] himself, as a last resource, inclosing a letter wherein Rubens describes the subjects he would make choice of, and requests the King's instructions whether "Sir Peter Rubens shall be put on those of the seeling, though itt should cost £240 starling more."[39] Gerbier's kindly offices were of no avail. The great artist, who had been a martyr to the gout for a long time past, was seized, before an answer could be received, with a most violent attack of ague and gout. After some days the gout reached his heart, and put a sudden termination to the life of a man of the greatest genius that ever lived. "He was much regretted and commended, hath left a rich widow and rich children, and many rarities which will be sold by out-cry."[40]

After the death of Rubens, "Jordaens remained the prime painter" in Flanders; and there is evidence that one, at all events, of his pictures for the Queen's Cabinet reached its destination. He received £100 on account, and as the sum for the whole work was to amount to £680 sterling, "more money is looked for by Jordaens."[41] This transaction was conducted secretly; Jordaens, in December, 1640, had not been told for whom the pictures were intended.

I have unwittingly enlarged so much upon the papers relating to Rubens, that I must needs be brief with those contained in my Appendix. This is of less importance, as I have prefixed to the beginning of each division introductory remarks, in which I have endeavoured to point out the portions of most interest. Appendix A. contains all the letters of Rubens in the original languages in which he wrote; translations will be found in order

[37] Letter ccx., p. 214. [38] Letter ccxxv., p. 225. [39] Letter ccxxiv., p. 224.
[40] Letter ccxxxii., p. 230. [41] Letter ccxxxvii., p. 234.

of date. And I wish it to be particularly understood, that I have, *in every letter throughout this volume, adhered to the original text*, except where they are translated, in such case the modern orthography is naturally adopted.

The correspondence relating to the formation of the Arundelian Collection; to that of the collection of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset; to the collection of antiques and statues belonging to Carleton; the letters of Gentileschi, Gerbier, Hubert Le Sueur, Myttens, Torrentius, and others, are full of curious matter hitherto unknown. The history of the acquisition of "The Mantuan Collection" is not the least interesting part of the Correspondence. It gives a complete account of the purchases of those priceless works of art, and affixes the exact dates at which they were made. Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Mantegna, Tintoretto, and most of the great artists, are frequently alluded to; their pictures—which include the St. Catherine, of Correggio; Mercury instructing Venus in the presence of Cupid, by Correggio, now in the National Gallery; the Triumph of Julius Cæsar, by Mantegna, now at Hampton Court—are the subject of purchase: works, the admiration of all. The King's Ambassador at Venice, Sir Dudley Carleton, on his return home, in November, 1615, brought with him a large store of pictures and works of art, collected in Italy. Many of the finest paintings which have found their way into England were originally purchased by this indefatigable amateur, either for himself or for some one of his numerous patrons. It is very probable that the first pictures purchased by the Earl of Arundel were bought of Carleton.[42] To his acquaintance and long correspondence with Daniel Nys, to whose daughter Cecilia he was godfather, it was owing that "The Great Mantuan Collection" was purchased for King Charles I. Carleton either purchased for, or made presents of works of art, to almost every Englishman of eminence of his day. James I., Charles I., Somerset, Buckingham, Arundel, Danvers, and a host of others, may be cited as evidence. The Correspondence in this volume proves that he was a great

[42] P. 268.

connoisseur, a liberal patron, an intelligent agent, and a lavish giver of the greatest treasures of art, antiques, as well as pictures.

Before taking leave, I have a most pleasing and agreeable duty to perform. From the time that I first undertook the task of collecting the materials for this volume, to the present hour, I have met with the kindest, the most considerate, and the most invaluable assistance from every one to whom I have applied; even more, from those who have cheerfully volunteered their help. Never say that authors are jealous—generous, I am sure, should rather supply the word. Although I cannot specify by name all who have lent me a willing hand, there are two or three I cannot pass over unmentioned.

To his Excellency Monsieur Sylvain Van de Weyer I am under the deepest obligation. Without his patronage I could not have continued my labours; without his assistance I should never have completed them. The books which His Excellency has placed at my disposal, and the courteous and ready manner in which he has invariably rendered me assistance, demand from me this public acknowledgment of gratitude and thanks.

To Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for the ready facilities granted me for research and making copies before the present regulations were in force, I am very grateful.

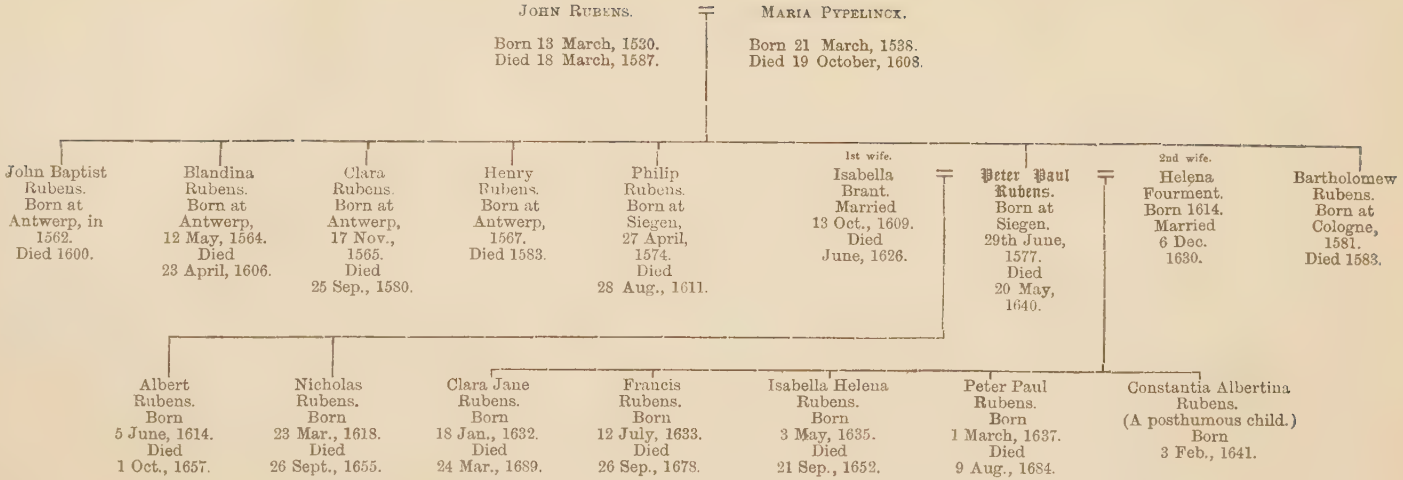
To John Bruce, Esq., I am greatly indebted. Without his valuable suggestions, clear judgment, and kind assistance, I should certainly have been found wanting. I beg leave to return him my very best thanks. To Mrs. M. A. Everett Green, also, I am under great obligations.

To the late Dawson Turner, Esq., who has died since the earlier sheets of this volume were in type, I am indebted for his kind permission to reprint the Inventory of Pictures found in Rubens's House after his death, as also for an original letter, a facsimile of which only he had previously printed. And to William Impey and William Douglas Hamilton, Esqs., my fellow labourers in the field of official life, I am greatly obliged for many ready acts of kindness and assistance.

And now, good Reader, farewell. I leave the result of this, my first volume, with confidence in your hands; assured that, however inadequately I may have performed my Editorial labours, you will fully appreciate the value and importance of the Original Papers contained in this volume.

W. NOËL SAINSBURY.

December 6th, 1858.


JOHN RUBENS.
Born 13 March, 1530.
Died 18 March, 1587.
MARIA PYPELINCX.
Born 21 March, 1538.
Died 19 October, 1608.
John Baptist Rubens. Born at Antwerp, in 1562. Died 1600.
Blandina Rubens. Born at Antwerp, 12 May, 1564. Died 23 April, 1606.
Clara Rubens. Born at Antwerp, 17 Nov., 1565. Died 25 Sep., 1580.
Henry Rubens. Born at Antwerp, 1567. Died 1583.
Philip Rubens. Born at Siegen, 27 April, 1574. Died 28 Aug., 1611.
1st wife.
Isabella Brant. Married 13 Oct., 1609. Died June, 1626.
Peter Paul Rubens. Born at Siegen. 29th June, 1577. Died 20 May, 1640.
2nd wife.
Helena Fourment. Born 1614. Married 6 Dec. 1630.
Bartholomew Rubens. Born at Cologne, 1581. Died 1583.
Albert Rubens. Born 5 June, 1614. Died 1 Oct., 1657.
Nicholas Rubens. Born 23 Mar., 1618. Died 26 Sept., 1655.
Clara Jane Rubens. Born 18 Jan., 1632. Died 24 Mar., 1689.
Francis Rubens. Born 12 July, 1633. Died 26 Sep., 1678.
Isabella Helena Rubens. Born 3 May, 1635. Died 21 Sep., 1652.
Peter Paul Rubens. Born 1 March, 1637. Died 9 Aug., 1684.
Constantia Albertina Rubens. (A posthumous child.) Born 3 Feb., 1641.

PAPERS RELATING TO RUBENS.

Peter Paul Rubens, the principal subject of the following pages, was the fourth son and the sixth child of John Rubens, a lawyer of some celebrity, and Maria Pypelincx, his wife, both natives of Antwerp, who emigrated to Cologne in 1568, on account of the religious wars which ravaged the Netherlands. In 1571, John Rubens was imprisoned in the citadel of Dillenburg, in the Duchy of Nassau, in consequence of an intrigue with Anne of Saxony, the second wife of the Prince of Orange. At the end of two years his wife obtained the privilege of visiting him in his prison and subsequently permission to live with him in any town of the Duchy. They went to reside at Siegen, where on the 27th April, 1574, a fifth child, Philip Rubens, was born, and there also, on the 29th June, 1577, the festival of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the great Flemish artist was born.[1] In 1578 they again settled at Cologne, and there, on the 18th of March, 1587, John Rubens died, and was interred in the church of St. Peter.[2] In the following year the

[1] "Rubens et l'école d'Anvers, par Alfred Michiels," who gives a long account of the origin of the family of Rubens, which he states to have been very humble; of the amours of his father, John Rubens, with the Princess of Orange; of his imprisonment in consequence, and the efforts made by his wife, which were ultimately successful, to obtain her husband's liberty (pp. 54—73). See also a letter dated $\frac{15}{25}$ July, 1637, where Rubens says, "I have a great affection for the city of Cologne, where I was brought up until I was ten years of age." But Alfred Michiels says he never designates *Cologne as the place of his birth.*

[2] His residence at Cologne was in the Rue de l'Etoile, in the parish of St. Peter. A stone tablet, inserted in the front wall of this house, bears an inscription signifying that Peter Paul Rubens was born there on the 29th June, 1577, and that John Rubens, his father, died there in 1587, and was buried in the church of St. Peter. This house was subsequently the residence of a Monsieur Jabach, and in 1830 was in the occupation of a wine-merchant and publican (Smith's Cat. Raisonné, vol. ii. p. 11).

mother of Rubens, after twenty years' exile, resolved to return to her native city, which had surrendered in August, 1585, after a twelvemonth's siege, to the dominion of Spain, and there Rubens continued his studies. His mother then placed him with Margaret de Ligne, widow of the Count of Lalaing, as page, but the licentious life of his companions was little suited to his taste, and in a short time he returned home.

It was his mother's intention that Rubens should follow his father's profession, the law, but animated by a love of drawing and painting, he persuaded her in 1590, when only thirteen years old, to place him as a pupil with Tobias Van Haeght, a skilful landscape painter,[3] with whom he did not stay long, and afterwards with Adam Van Noort,[4] distinguished for his fine colouring, with whom he remained a longer time than with either his previous or his subsequent master, but whose brutal disposition and dissolute life compelled young Rubens to leave him. In 1596, at the age of nineteen, he went to Othon Van Veen, usually called Otto Venius, the Flemish Raphael,[5] who was at that time

[3] Tobias Verhaecht, Verhaeght, or Vanderhaeght, for his name is thus differently written; but Van Haeght is correct, for so it is written upon the register of the Academy, and so he wrote it himself, was born at Antwerp in 1566. In 1590, he was received "Maître," and was "Doyen des Maîtres" in 1594-5. It was from him that Rubens learnt the first principles of drawing; but it is very probable that Rubens, aspiring to greater things, left this school to go to Adam Van Noort, that he might become skilful in the historical part of his art. The Duke of Florence thought a great deal of Van Haeght's talent, and Rome itself admires his picture of the Tower of Babel, an immense work in its details, which he painted to make himself known. Cornille de Bie, a Flemish painter, who has written the Lives of the Painters in verse, says he painted the same subject three or four times. He died at Antwerp, in 1631, aged 65. From MS. notes, which appear to have been made in 1779 (p. 324), by M. François Mols—who was a native of Antwerp, and resided there during the greater portion of the 18th century, where he died in 1790—to an edition of Descamps, which his Excellency M. Van de Weyer has kindly allowed me to make use of; also Descamps, tom. i. pp. 228-251.

[4] Adam Van Noort, for so he wrote himself on his pictures, and M. Mols states he finds the name thus written on the list of the Doyens of St. Luke for 1598, was born at Antwerp in 1557, and received "Maître" in 1587. He enjoyed a considerable reputation, and painted several great works for which he was well paid; amongst others, a "Descent from the Cross," in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the cathedral at Antwerp, in which may be seen the principles that Rubens has followed sometimes in his pictures. His brutality made him dangerous and insupportable; he lost his friends and pupils, and latterly regarded painting as a means only to make money. Rubens said of him that he would have surpassed his contemporaries had he visited Rome and "cherché à se former sur les bons modeles." He died at Antwerp in 1641, aged 84.—MS. Notes by MM. Mols: Descamps, tom. i. p. 228.

[5] Othon Van Veen, for so he wrote it himself, was born at Leyden, in 1556. He was received into the "Brotherhood of St. Luke," or the Chamber of Painters in Antwerp in 1594, and served as Doyen from September, 1603, to September, 1604. He was not only held in high esteem by the Archduke Albert and the Infanta

court painter to the Archduke Albert, Governor of the Netherlands. In the selection of this master, Rubens was most happy. He profited wonderfully by the advantages of Van Veen's instruction. In 1599 he was received Master in the Brotherhood of St. Luke, called the Chamber of Painters in Antwerp.[6]

Othon Van Veen knowing his pupil's great wish to visit Italy, and anxious to procure for him every advantage in his travels, presented Rubens to the Archduke Albert and his wife the Infanta Isabella. He requested their protection and letters of recommendation, and on the 29th April [9th May, new style], 1600, in his twenty-third year, took leave of Van Veen, with whom he had studied three years,[7] and left Antwerp for Italy.[8]

His first resting place was Venice, where he occupied himself in studying the works of Titian, Paul Veronese, and other great masters, and in making copies from some of their best pictures. In the midst of these studies a gentleman from the court of Vincent II. de Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, who lodged in the same house with Rubens, saw, and was so struck with these pictures that, through his representation, the Grand Duke offered to attach Rubens to his court, and upon presenting his letters of recommendation from the Archduke Albert, he appointed him Gentleman of the Chamber and Court Painter. Sandrart says that the Archduke sent Rubens to the Duke, who received him favourably, and took him into his service, in which he remained seven years.[9]

In 1605 the Duke of Mantua sent him on a mission to Philip III., King of Spain, with rich presents for the Duke of Lerma, one of that King's principal favourites. While at Madrid he painted a

Isabella for his personal qualities and talents, but also on account of his noble birth, being descended from John Van Veen, called "le petit Bâtard," natural son of John III., Duke of Brabant. He was superintendent of the finances of his Catholic Majesty in the Netherlands, and died at Brussels, April 26, 1634, aged 78.—MS. Notes by M. Mols; Descamps, tom. i. pp. 223-225. See Appendix B.

[6] Maître dans la Confrerie de St. Luc.—M. Mols, MS. Note in Descamps i. p. 298.

[7] M. Mols, MS. Note in Descamps i. p. 228.

[8] Mrs. Jameson, in "Waagen's Peter Paul Rubens, his Life and Genius," p. 7, says, quoting from Descamps, i. p. 323, that Rubens painted the "Adoration of the Three Kings" previous to the commencement of his Italian journey. But M. Mols, in a MS. note, says this "Adoration des Rois" is *not* by Rubens, but by Van Dalen, who has been confounded with H. Van Balen.

Henry Van Balen and Sebastien Vranckz (see note 59, p. 23) were the two fellow pupils of Rubens when he was with Adam Van Noort. (Smith's Catalog. Raison., vol. ii. p. 14.)

[9] Rubens, in a postscript to a letter of 31st July, 1630, [p. 153] says he is *extremely grieved* at the most sad news of the City of Mantua having been taken by the Imperialists, from having served the House of Gonzaga many years. Vincent II. de Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, died in 1627.

number of portraits of the Spanish nobility, and many historical pictures for which he received large sums of money. On his return to Mantua, Rubens persuaded the Duke to allow him to visit Rome,[10] to which he consented, at the same time, charging him to make copies for him of the finest pictures. He copied the principal paintings of the great masters, and at the request of the Archduke Albert painted three pictures for the chapel of St. Helena, which the Archduke was then repairing in the church of Santa Croce della Gerusalemme.[11]

After remaining some time at Rome Rubens proceeded to Florence, but the Grand Duke hearing everywhere of his great renown, begged him to return to Mantua, and at his first audience requested him to paint his own portrait, to be placed in the public gallery of the city, among the portraits of the greatest painters of the world.[12] It was during his stay at Florence he took pleasure in examining the antique statues, which he there found in endless variety. Before leaving his Court the Grand Duke presented Rubens with a gold chain, with his portrait attached, and many other presents of great value.[13] He then again went to Venice, where he remained longer than on his first visit, and completed his studies of the Great Masters there. From thence he passed to Rome; on his arrival, the Pope requested him to paint a picture for his Oratory of Monte Cavallo,[14] and cardinals

[10] Descamps, tom. i, p. 300, says, the Duke *sent* Rubens to Rome to copy pictures from the great masters; but Michel, in his "Histoire de la vie de P. P. Rubens," p. 31, that Rubens persuaded the Duke to let him go, consenting to his departure with regret, which is most probably correct.

[11] The subjects of the three pictures painted for the Archduke Albert to adorn the church of Santa Croce della Gerusalemme, at Rome,—the Prince having borne the title of Cardinal of that church previous to his marriage with Isabella,—were, "St. Helena discovering the real Cross," "Christ Crowned with Thorns," and "The Crucifixion." They were brought to England in 1811, and sold by auction the following year. The Crucifixion, afterwards sold by Mr. Woodburn to Count Woronzow, and sent to St. Petersburgh, was unhappily lost at sea. (Waagen's P. P. Rubens, ed. by Mrs. Jameson, p. 10.)

[12] It has been the custom for upwards of two centuries to place the portrait of every distinguished painter, done by his own hand, in this gallery. (Smith's Cat. Rais. tom. ii. p. 20.)

[13] Rubens, during his residence at Mantua, was so pleased with the triumph of Julius Cæsar, by Andrea Mantegna, now at Hampton Court, but at that time in the Mantuan Gallery (see Appendix H.), that he made a free copy of one of the nine pictures. This sketch was in the possession of Rubens at his death. It subsequently became the property of the late Samuel Rogers, at the sale of whose pictures in 1856 it was purchased for the National Gallery for 1050 Guineas.

[14] The subject was, "The Virgin Mother accompanied by St. Anne, adoring the Infant Jesus." Alfred Michiels, pp. 92-3, describes thirty-two pictures, painted by Rubens, between the age of 23 and 31, while in Italy, viz., five at Florence, twenty-three at Rome, two at Milan, and two at Genoa, besides many others which he doubtless painted for the Duke of Mantua.

and princes were eager to ornament their galleries and cabinets with pictures from his hand. During his second stay at Rome, he resolved, after a seven years' residence in Italy, to visit Milan, where he remained some little time and painted the famous Lord's Supper of Leonardo da Vinci. From Milan he went to Genoa, where he was received with the most flattering distinction, by the nobility and the first merchants. His cordial reception, the beauty of the city, and the mildness of the climate, which agreed with him better than any other part of Italy, induced him to prolong his stay. He painted for the Church of the Jesuits, "The Circumcision of Jesus Christ," and "St. Ignatius healing the sick and crippled," which the Genoese assert ought to be regarded as the *chef d'œuvre* of the artist. It was at Genoa he undertook to make drawings and plans of the most beautiful palaces of the city, which collection was subsequently engraved at Antwerp.[15]

His various studies were most painfully interrupted in the beginning of November, 1608, by news that his mother was dangerously ill; he hastened to Antwerp, but did not reach home in time to see her alive. She died on the 19th October,[16] and he did not arrive there until November. Overwhelmed with grief, he retired to the Abbey of St. Michael of Antwerp, where, in the deepest seclusion, with nothing but his pencil and a few chosen books to console him, he remained four months. After raising a tomb to the memory of his mother, the epitaph to which he composed himself, he determined on returning to Mantua, but the Archduke, and his wife Isabella, would not hear of his leaving Flanders; they sent for him to attend the Court at Brussels, gave him a considerable pension, and appointed him Court painter.[17]

On the 13th of October, 1609, Rubens was married in the Abbey

[15] The title was "Palazzi antichi di Genova, raccolti e designati da Pietro Paolo Rubens; in Anversa appresso Giacomo Meursio, anno 1613." The work appeared in two books, one of 72 plates, the other of 67 plates.

[16] Alf. Michiels says she died on the 14th November, but the following translation of the Latin epitaph which Rubens composed himself, will show that her death took place the 14th of the *calends* of November, which is the 19th of October: "To the very prudent and excellent lady Maria Pypelincx, who was united in matrimony to John Rubens, Juris-consult of Antwerp, and being bereft of him, sacredly cherished her widowhood for twenty-two years, to the day of her death. Philip and Peter Paul Rubens, with her Grand-children and her Daughter Blandina, erected this monument to their pious Mother of blessed Memory. She lived 70 years, 6 months, 29 days, and died the 14th of the calends of November, in the Year 1608."

[17] The Letters Patent are dated 23rd Sept. 1609 [N.S.] "Particularités et documents inédits sur Rubens, par Gachard [Bruxelles, 1842]," who says that Michel, and other

Church of St. Michael, to Isabella Brant,[18] daughter of John Brant, and niece to his eldest brother Philip's wife,[19] Maria de Moy, and they took up their residence with his father-in-law. The Archduke stood sponsor to their first child, and gave him his own name, Albert.

In 1610[20] he built a princely house at Antwerp, in the Italian style, after designs of his own. Between the court and a large garden, in which he cultivated the rarest flowers and trees, he constructed a rotunda, lighted from a cupola above, similar to the Pantheon at Rome, in which he arranged a choice collection of antique statues, busts, bas-reliefs, medals, onyx, agates, and pictures of the great masters which he had amassed in Italy.

biographers after him, affirm that at this period the Archduke appointed him chamberlain, and Michel says that he was created Councillor of State, but this could not be, for Rubens was not of noble birth, and the dignity of Councillor of State was reserved for the most eminent men, as the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Arschot, &c. &c.

[18] The entry of this marriage will be found in the special register of St. Andrew's Church, on which the Monastery of St. Michael was dependent:—

"A.D. 1609, die 13 Octobris,
St. Petrus Pauwels Rubens
Joffe Isabella Brant
"Solemnisatum in ecclesiâ d. Michaelis."

Alf. Michiels, p. 568.

Descamps, Felibien, Michel, Walpole, call her *Elizabeth.*

[19] The following is a translation of the Latin epitaph written by Peter Paul Rubens on his brother Philip's tomb: "To Philip Rubens, Juris-consult, son of John, Citizen and Senator of Antwerp, the disciple and pupil of the great Lipsius, to whose learning having almost attained, he happily equalled his modesty, at Brussels under the President Richardot, at Rome under Ascanius the Cardinal of Colonna. From his letters and studies, and from the Secretaryship of the Senate and people of Antwerp, he departed rather than died, surviving in his reputation and writings, the 5th of the calends of Sept. [28th August] 1619, in the 39th year of his age. Maria de Moy, Mother of his two children Clara and Philip, piously erected this sepulchral monument of her grief and love to her well-deserving husband and to his Mother Maria Pypelincx. Good Stranger, lift up your hands in fervent prayer and contemplate. He has gone before: shortly I must follow."

[20] Vie de Rubens, by Philip, his nephew. Michel and all subsequent biographers are therefore in error when they say Rubens built a house *before* he was married. In preparing the foundations of his new house, Rubens had unknowingly trespassed on a piece of ground belonging to the company of Arquebussiers, at Antwerp. A lawsuit was threatened, and Rubens, with all the vivacity of his nature prepared measures of resistance, but when his friend Rockox, one of the greatest lawyers of the city, had proved to him that the right lay not with him, he immediately drew back, and offered to paint a picture by way of compensation, to be placed in the chapel of St. Christopher, in the Cathedral. This was the origin of the celebrated "Descent from the Cross." The agreement that he entered into with the company of Arquebussiers is dated the 7th Sept., 1611.—Waagen's Rubens, ed. by Mrs. Jameson, p. 22; Rubens et l'école d'Anvers, p. 103.

According to Houbraken, the building of this house cost him 60,000 florins.

Being thus established according to his taste, he apportioned his time in the following manner :—

He rose early ; in summer at four o'clock, and immediately afterwards heard mass. He then went to work, and while painting habitually employed a person to read to him from one of the classical authors (his favourites being Livy, Plutarch, Cicero, Seneca) or from some eminent poet. At this time he generally received his visitors, with whom he entered willingly into conversation on a variety of topics, in the most animated and agreeable manner. An hour before dinner was always devoted to recreation, which consisted either in allowing his thoughts to dwell as they listed on subjects connected with science or politics, which latter interested him deeply, or in contemplating his treasures of art. From anxiety not to impair the brilliant play of his fancy, he indulged but sparingly in the pleasures of the table, and drank but little wine. After working again till evening, he usually, if not prevented by business, mounted a spirited Andalusian horse, and rode for an hour or two. This was his favourite exercise ; he was extremely fond of horses, and his stables generally contained some of remarkable beauty. On his return home it was his custom to receive a few friends, principally men of learning or artists, with whom he shared his frugal meal (he was the declared enemy of all excess), and passed the evening in instructive and cheerful conversation.[21]

He now began to enjoy his reputation and fortune in tranquillity. He was rapid in his designs, equally so in executing them, and could work for a long time together without affecting his health. All the towns of the Netherlands[22] were disputing the honour of possessing some of his *chefs d'œuvres ;* the cities of Italy also showed the same eagerness. Genoa, Bologna, and Milan obtained through favour a very small number of his pictures, and they ranked among the marvels of Italy. Such an extraordinary reputation could not fail to attract envy ; and Descamps[23] relates that Janssens,[24] who previously was considered

[21] Dr. Waagen's P. P. Rubens, ed. by Mrs. Jameson, pp. 17, 18.

[22] Descamps, tom. i. p. 303, says, "The Four Evangelists" of the Jacobins of Antwerp is by the hand of Rubens ; but M. Mols, in a MS. note, states, he must mean "The Dispute upon the Holy Sacrament," for there is no picture of "The Four Evangelists" in that church.

[23] Tom. i. p. 304.

[24] Abraham Janssens was a pupil of Jean Snellinck in 1585, "Maître" in 1602, and was received "Doyen des Maîtres Peintres" in 1607. He died in 1632, according to

one of the first artists in Flanders, had the temerity to challenge Rubens to a trial of their art. Rubens replied that he would accept the challenge, when Janssens could prove by his works that he was able to compete with him. M. Mols, however, in a MS. note to Descamps says, that in spite of the reputation of the writers from whom M. Descamps has taken this anecdote, he believes it to be untrue, the answer stated to have been given to Janssens being contrary to the disposition and character of Rubens.

It was about this time that an English alchemist named Brendel[25] came to Rubens, and promised to divide with him the treasures of his art, if he would only construct a laboratory and pay some little necessary expenses. Rubens, after listening very attentively, took him to his studio: "You are come," he said, "twenty years too late, for it was then, with this palette and these brushes, that I found the philosopher's stone."[26]

Having thus far given a sketch of the life of the great Flemish artist, I proceed to the original letters which I have found in the State Paper Office. The first is from Sir Dudley Carleton, in Holland, to his friend John Chamberlain, in London, and by its curious picture of Antwerp and the towns adjacent, forms an appropriate introduction to the correspondence which follows. It is somewhat remarkable that Carleton makes no mention of having visited Rubens, but he most probably did so at Antwerp, for by a letter from Toby Matthew, dated 29th September, 1616 (see p. 14), it will be seen that he was then in negotiation with Rubens for a hunting-piece, according to Carleton's commission.

the registers of the Academy of Painters at Antwerp. MS. note by M. Mols (Descamps, tom. i. p. 261), who also says, "It is a great loss to the public that he became jealous of Rubens and that he took such an aversion to his style of painting; for, if Janssens had been able to join to the [*fierté*] boldness of his drawing the [*suavité*] sweetness and the [*moelleur*] softness of the pencil of his rival, accompanied with the judgment of chiaro-scuro [*entente du claire obscur*], I doubt very much if he would not only have equalled, but perhaps have surpassed him."

[25] Descamps, tom. i. pp. 303-4. In a note to Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, &c., vol. ii. p. 172, "The alchemist who applied to Rubens was one Brondel, an unsuccessful painter—Graham."

[26] Descamps, tom. i. p. 305. "For so long it is," said he, "since I found the art of making gold with my pallet and pencils."—Walpole ut sup. "My friend, you are come too late. Twenty years ago I might have been tempted to listen to your offer, but I am now in possession of the object of your researches," and showing his pencils, observed, "these have long since obtained the magic power of turning all they touch into gold."—Smith's Cat. Rais., p. 29.

I. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON[27] TO JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.[28] (*Extract.*)

Hagh, Sept. $\frac{5}{15}$, 1616.

GOODE MR. CHAMBERLAIN:

I LEFT w^th^ you at the Spaa the $\frac{12}{22}$ of the last, from whence we parted within two or three dayes, taking the way of Mastricht, as well to avoyde an ill encounter w^ch^ was threatned us at Liege (wherof I wrote unto you) as likewise to see a new towne and

[27] Sir Dudley Carleton was born at Baldwin Brightwell, in Oxfordshire, on the 10th of March, 1573. He was educated at Westminster School and at Christ Church, Oxford. In April, 1598, he went to Ostend, in the suite of Sir Ed. Norris, governor there. He took his degree of M.A. at Oxford, on 12th July, 1600, and then travelled; was at the Hague in December, 1600, and at Paris in July, 1601. He was secretary in 1602 to Sir Thomas Parry, Ambassador in France, and was appointed secretary to the Earl of Northumberland about August, 1603. He sat for a Cornish borough in the first Parliament of King James I, was in Paris in November, 1605, when the Gunpowder Plot was discovered, but ordered home and put under arrest on suspicion of being concerned in it, through his connection with the Earl of Northumberland, and was not, in consequence, employed in any public capacity until five years afterwards. In the latter part of the year 1607 he married Anne, daughter of George Gerard, Esq, who died 18th April, 1627. (See her letters, Appendix D.) He was knighted in August, 1610, and succeeded Sir H. Wotton as Ambassador at Venice; recalled on the 6th September, 1615, and arrived in London on the 11th December following. He then succeeded Sir Ralph Winwood as Ambassador at the Hague, [his instructions were dated 6th January, 1615-6,] where he continued to reside until October, 1625. In the following month he was appointed Vice-Chamberlain, and immediately after sent on a special mission to France, conjointly with the Earl of Holland; on the 24th November a warrant was issued for £1535, for the transportation of himself as Ambassador Extraordinary with the French King and his train, to and fro betwixt Paris and London. In March, 1626, he was elected M.P. for the borough of Hastings, and created Baron Imbercourt in Surrey, 21st May in the same year, to balance the Duke of Buckingham's enemies in the House of Lords. He was again sent Ambassador Extraordinary to France, in July, 1626, and to the Hague on the 27th May, 1627; his last letter from Brill is dated $\frac{17}{27}$ May, 1628. During this negotiation he was in personal communication with Rubens (see letters of this date). King Charles I. created him Viscount Dorchester on 25th July, 1628, and Secretary of State on the 14th December following. He married a second time, in June, 1630, Anne, the daughter of Sir Henry Glemham, relict of Paul, Viscount Banning, who survived him. He died 15th February, 1631-2, and was buried on the 19th in Westminster Abbey. It will be seen by the correspondence in this volume, that he was a great admirer of the Fine Arts; and that he purchased numerous pictures and statues, not only for himself but for others, of which he appears to have been considered a very good judge.

[28] John Chamberlain was born in 1552, and educated at Cambridge. He was of a good family and possessed a large fortune; was the intimate friend of Sir Dudley Carleton, whom he accompanied to Venice in 1610, and with whom he kept up a regular correspondence for many years. On 30th July, 1613, Carleton writes to him from Venice, "I shall have more of y^r^ company then you thincke, having violently rob'd Tintoret of a picture of y^rs^ he retained, w^ch^ is (I assure you) a master piece." He died at an advanced age, as appears by a letter from Sec. Lord Dorchester to Sir Isaac Wake of the 15th October, 1630, wherein he says, "Mr. John Chamberlain, owr goode frend, who is with God."

countrie; w^ch^ are very ill matched, the towne being very poore and desolate, and the countrey both rich and pleasant. From thence we came the next day to St. Troine, where by the way we were encountred w^th^ a troope of the B. of Collens horse, who having made goode cheere in the towne whether we were going, and half drunck (as it seemed) came towards us w^th^ theyr pieces and petronels in theyr hands, after the manner of a charge to see, belike, yf they could make us afrayde, or by some disorder give them occasion of assayling and robbing us; w^ch^ we the rather believe because by one I sent abowt an hower before they knew who we were, and lay in ambush for us in an open field behind a hill untill we came to a fitt distance for theyr bravado. But S^r^ Horace Vere[29] and my self, whom they mett w^th^ first, keeping on owr way w^th^owt alteration, after some words they left us to owr Jorney. From St. Troine we came the next day to Louvain, where Mr. Trumbull[30] mett us, and giving us to understand of the Archduke and Infantas absence from Bruxells we tooke that place in owr way; where we dined w^th^ Mr. Trumbull, and lodged that night at Machlen, whether he conducted us in companie of Mr. Toby Matthew[31] who fownd us at Louvain, or rather we him (for there is his residence), and left us not untill we came to Antwerp. At Louvain we saw nothing remarquable but the D. of Ascots chappel, an English mile distant from the towne, where those of that house have theyr monuments; and it is a great raritie for a

[29] Sir Horace Vere the youngest son of Geoffrey Vere, brother of John, sixteenth Earl of Oxford, was born at Kirby Hall, in Essex, in 1565, and served in the Low Countries with his brother, Sir Francis; had a considerable share in the victory near Nieuport, and in the defence of Ostend. He succeeded his brother in the government of the Brill, which post he held until 1616. In 1620 he was appointed commander of the forces sent by King James I. to the assistance of the King of Bohemia, on which occasion he effected a memorable retreat from the Spanish General, Spignola. He was the first person raised to the peerage by Charles I. There is a docquet in the State Paper Office, dated 18th July, 1625, for a charter of creation for Sir Horace Vere to be Baron Vere of Tilbury, in co. Essex, entailing the said honour upon him and his heirs male of his body. He was Master of the Ordnance in 1629, and died 2nd May, 1635, aged 70, when the title became extinct.

[30] William Trumbull served under Sir Thos. Edmondes, from 1597, in the Council Chamber "without fee or reward;" was appointed, in 1605, "agent of King James I., resident at Brussels," and returned to England on 17th October, 1625. There are warrants to William Trumbull, gentleman, for payment of 20*s.* per day, as H. M. agent with the Archduke of Austria, and it appears by a "Grant unto Thos. Meautys, Esq., for his life of the office of Muster-Master-General of England," on 26th March, 1636, that "Wil. Trumbull, Esq., deceased, late held the same."—Orig. Papers, S. P. O.

[31] Toby Matthew was banished the Court of King James I. (see Appendix I.), and seems from his letter to have acted at this period as an agent for Sir D. Carleton in the exchange of pictures from Rubens.

familie under the condition of absolute Princes. At Bruxells we had the full sight of the Court, where the hall and chappell are exceeding faire, and the parke wthin the walls of a towne is a singularitie; the grotte and gardens very perfect and pleasant; the whole house and furniture rather comodious then sutable to the pallace of a Prince. The seat of the towne was all we could consider in so short time, w^{ch} is the most pleasant that I have seene any where. The English Nunnes tooke it unkindly to be left unvisited, who take themselfs to be such pretious peeces (and so are sett owt and magnified by owr English Catholiques, whereof there we fownd many) that they thinck they should not have ben so slighted; but we had nether time nor much desire to use that ceremonie. Machlen both for the wayes and gardens neere it, and the fayrenes of streetes and buildings was absolutely the best towne we saw in Brabant, untill we came to *Antwerp*, w^{ch} I must confesse exceedes any I ever saw any where else, for the bewtie and uniformitie of buildings, heith and largenes of streetes, and strength and fairenes of the rampars. We stayed there (as in all other places), one night onely, having an afternoone and a morning to see the towne, w^{ch} we performed in frends coches, wherby to give our owne rest, and left nothing of moment unseene.[32] But I must tell you the state of this towne in a word, so as you take it literally, magna civitas magna solitudo, for in y^{e} whole time we spent there I could never sett my eyes in the whole length of a streete uppon 40 persons at once: I never mett coach nor saw man on horseback: none of owr companie (though both were workie dayes) saw one pennie worth of ware ether in shops or in streetes bought or solde. Two walking pedlers and one ballad-seller will carrie as much on theyr backs at once as was in that royall exchange ether above or below. The English house is filled wth schoole-boyes under the Jesuits discipline, and the Esterlings[33] stands emptie. In many places grasse growes in the streetes, yet (that w^{ch} is rare in such solitarines) the buildings are all kept in perfect reparation. Theyr condition is much worse (w^{ch} may seeme strange) since the truce then it was before; and the whole countrey of Brabant was suitable to this towne; splendida paupertas, faire and miserable. We

[32] Is it not most probable he visited Rubens.

[33] The Esterlingers were a company of merchant adventurers who traded to the eastern parts, and it is probable the *Esterlings* was their hall, or place of business.

soone fownd the contrarie qualities in the first step we made into the territorie of this State, w^ch^ is rich and unpleasant. And this we imputed rather to the nature of the goverment then of the soyle (for Brabant was never accounted poore) and therof observed this manifest reason, that it proceeded of the qualitie rather of the stranger-soldier then the inhabitant; in that on that side the soldier is a master over the state (the Spaniard, I meane), on this side (of what nation soever) a servant. At Breda (w^ch^ both for the towne and castle is a place worth the sight) we were both lodged and defrayed by the Governor, as we were at Guertenbergh in owr going, and saw both the garrisons as well horse as foote in armes. At Gurcom and Turgoe (w^ch^ way we returned to avoyde shipping of owr horses) we had the like entertainment of the burgers, as we had likewise at Dort in owr going: but Roterdam makes profession of laying aside all such courtesie.

* * * * *

Y^rs^ most affectionatly,
DUDLEY CARLETON.

II. SIR D. CARLETON TO J. CHAMBERLAIN. (*Extracts.*)

Hagh, Oct. $\frac{4}{14}$, 1616.

GOODE MR. CHAMBERLAIN:

I AM now againe returned from a pettie progresse having taken the oportunitie of his Ex^cies^ absence and a Vacation of affaires to visit Harlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Leyden, in w^ch^ jorney I spent six dayes, chusing rather to acquaint my self w^th^ these places in the beginning of my residence here, whereby the knowledge of them might be of some use, then (as many doe) at parting to finde talke when they come home. I fownd at Harlem a whole towne so nete and clenlie, and all things so regular and in that goode order, as yf it had ben all but one house. The painters were the chiefest curiositie; wherof there is one Cornelius[34] for figures, who

[34] Cornelius Cornelisz was born at Haerlem, in 1562, and from his youth gave such tokens of a genius for painting that he was placed with Peter le Long the younger, under whom he made a most rapid progress, and was surnamed Cornelius the Painter. On leaving his master, at the age of seventeen, whom he greatly surpassed, he would have gone to Italy, but at Rouen the plague prevented his proceeding further, and he was allured to Antwerp by the reputation of the great painter in that city. He placed himself with Francis Pourbus, (his true name, in Flemish, was Poyerbus, which signifies Powder-Box.—M. Mols. MS. note. Descamps, i. p. 277,) and afterwards with Giles Coignet, where he remained a year, and by their instruction corrected his manner of painting, which was raw and hard, and acquired a more

doth excelle in colouring, but erres in proportions. Vrom[35] hath a great name for representing of Ships and all things belonging to the sea; wherin indeede he is very rare, as may appeare by the prises of his works, when a Burger of Alemar gave him for the fight w^ch^ Greenfield made in the Revenge, £200 sterl, and his sonne for the Battaile of Lepanto (w^ch^ is not above a yard and a half long and a yard broad) doth demaund and stick hard at £120. Goltius[36] is yet living, but not like to last owt an other winter; and his art decayes w^th^ his bodie. At Amsterdam I saw many goode pieces but few goode painters; that place being in this commoditie as in others, the ware-house rather then the worke-house. The plague groes hott there, w^ch^ made my stay the lesse, yet I saw the whole towne, and observed this difference from Antwerp, that there was a towne w^th^owt people and here a people as it were withowt a towne; such are the numbers of all nations, of all professions, and all religions there assembled, but for one busines onely of marchandise; Theyr new towne goeth up a pace, w^ch^ they make account will be finished and filled within the space of two yeares.

* * * * *

At Utrecht I saw eleven companies of the K's subjects in arms, w^ch^ was more then any towne in these 17 provinces can shew of one language, or I may well say any towne in Europe; and they are all very goode men. At Leyden I onely stayed a dining time having the comoditie to see that place at leysure: and yet I must note as a singularitie the common Inne where we dined, w^ch^ hath divers roomes hung with tapistrie, and some furnished w^th^ pictures of the best hands.

* * * * *

Y^rs^ most assuredly,
D. Carleton.

soft and agreeable style. He painted a large picture representing the Deluge for the Earl of Leicester, in which the naked figures and their different ages are admirably expressed. His pictures, though numerous, are difficult to be met with. He died in 1638, aged 76.—Descamps, tom. i. pp. 240-2.

[35] Henry Cornelius Vroom, born at Harlem in 1566. His father was a statuary, but, dying when young, his mother married a second time Cornelius Henricksen, a painter on china, who gave him instruction in painting. After travelling through Spain and Italy, and escaping shipwreck, he took to painting ships and vessels. He also painted the naval engagements between the English and Spanish fleets in 1588, and visited England, where he was well received. He died in 1619, aged 53.—Descamps, tom. i. p. 254.

[36] Henry Goltzius was born at Mulbrecht in the duchy of Juliers, in 1558. His own genius and application raised him to that considerable rank which he held among the best artists of his time for painting and engraving. Though he did not

III. [37] TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON.[38] (*Extract.*)

Brussels, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 29}{\text{Oct. } 9}$, 1616.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR L^{P}:

* * * * *

I was lately at Antwerpe to take leave of my Lady of Pembrooke,[39] who departed thence towardes England on the third of this moneth. Mr. Gage[40] and I dealt wth Rubens, for the peece of huntinge[41] accordinge to your L^{ps} Commission; savinge that betweene my receavinge of your L^{ps} former letter, w^{ch} was at Lovaine, and my goinge to Antwerp, I had not the chaine of diamondes in my hand, for I had left it here in Brussells, so as Rubens sawe it not. But that importeth not much, for the very lowest price, to w^{ch} wth much adoe Mr. Gage could drawe him, was fowerscore poundes sterlinge; w^{ch} he said not expressely he would take, but I thincke he will. Wee tell him of a chaine, and described it the best we could; but those thinges worke not upon him, and he will not meddle with it, but so farre forth as by the estimation of gouldsmithes and jewellers, it shall rise to his price. What it shall wante, he will expecte to be punctually made up in money; and I must tell your L^{p} I meete wth noebodie of any condition, who will geve much above fifty poundes for the chaine. There have not yet beene stirringe any other chaines of diamondes, for w^{ch} I might exchaunge yours; so as it may please your L^{p} to comaunde what

begin to paint till he was above forty, it is incredible the number of pictures he finished. He died at Haerlem, in 1617, aged 59.

[37] See Appendix I.

[38] Printed in the supplement to "Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters," &c., by John Smith, pp. 234-5. The date is, however, according to the *new style.*

[39] Lady Mary, one of the three daughters and co-heirs of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who died on the 8th May, 1616. She was married, in 1604, to William Herbert, third Earl of Montgomery, a well-known favourite of King James I, and "the most universally beloved and esteemed of any man of that age;" but, according to Lord Clarendon, the union was not a happy one. Her husband died in 1630; she survived him many years.

[40] George Gage appears to have acted as an agent for Sir Dudley Carleton in the purchase, &c., of pictures. He was employed in several special missions by King James I. On the 10th October, 1621, Trumbull writes to Carleton, "The Dispensation for o^{r} allyance wth Spaine is pursued by Mr. George Gage, and Padre Maestro," also on 17th January, 1622-3, "Mr. Endymion Porter was redispatched [from Spain] towards England, and Mr. Gage sente forward towardes Italy." His credentials to Pope Gregory XV, to hasten the dispensation for the Spanish match, are dated, 30th September, 1622.

[41] See p. 21, note 54.

I shall doe, whether I shall sell the chaine as highe as I can and make good the reste to Reubens for his picture; or whether I shall expecte yet a litle longer, to see if I can finde for my Ladie, a chaine of Diamondes w^{ch} she will like better; or els (without medlinge either with the picture or the exchaunge) whether I shall embrace the firste good comodity of sendinge the chaine to her handes.

* * * * *

Your L^{ps} humble and most
affectionate servaunte,
TOBIE MATTHEW.

IV. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Louvaine, Nov. $\frac{11}{21}$, 1616.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR L^{P}:

* * * * *

Concerninge the chaine, there is noe possibility to accorde the difference betwene your L^{p} and Reubens; especially considering that whereof I have written to my Lady about the litle w^{ch} wilbe geven for the chaine here; but howesoever, Mr. Gage, who is going to Antwerp within these fower or five dayes, will take it with him, together wth the instructions of your last letter, and see what can be done for you.

* * * * *

Your L^{ps} most humble and
affectionate servaunt,
TOBIE MATTHEW.

V. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON.[42] (*Extract.*)

Louvaine, Dec. $\frac{20}{30}$, 1616.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR L^{P}:

* * * * *

The reason of my writinge no sooner to your L^{p} about Mr Gage's Treaty with Rubens was this. He came by Brussells where he staid long, but with dayly purpose of cominge hether, w^{ch} made him forbeare to write, especially considering that Rubens did absolutely refuse his offer. To that absolute refusall peradventure

[42] Printed in Supplement to Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné of Painters," pp. 235-6.

Rubens was the more hastned, by reason that at the same time the Duke of Ariscott was in Antwerp, and in highe termes to buye the huntinge peece.[43] Howe it hath succeeded I knowe not, but I rather thincke it is sold; for as the painter esteemes it to be richly worth a hundred poundes in itself, so yet he wilbe glad of fowerscore, in regard of the errour w^{ch} nowe he acknowledgeth himself to have committed in makinge the picture so very bigge, that none but great Princes have houses fitt to hange it up in. But howsoever his resolute answere was, that whether the Duke of Ariscott bought it or no, he would not sell it a penye under fowerscore pound, whereof your chaine was nowe lastly valewed in Antwerp but at fiftye. Rubens for the gusto w^{ch} he takes in that peece of hunting, is makinge another picture of it, but much lesse. For whereas the great picture is eighteene foote long and betweene eleven and twelve foote highe, this other is but ten foote long and seaven foote highe.[44] This later picture if you like to have for your chaine, you may; and he undertakes to make it of as much perfection as the other, if not more; and if you like the matche, Mr. Gage will see that he shall performe it. He hath already seene so much of it, as is done, and likes it exceedingly, and saith he had rather geve threescore pound for this, then fowerscore for the other, for besides that he assureth himself that this wilbe better finished, he saieth that the other picture is so bigge as that it cannot be hunge up in the house of lesse then a Prince. It may please your L^{p} to make what resolution you like beste, and you see upon what reason I forbeare to sende your chaine till I have an answer hereunto.

* * * * *

Your L^{ps} most affectionate,
and most humble servaunt,
Tobie Matthew.

On Dec. 27, Toby Matthew wrote again to Carleton, stating that he had no more to say concerning the chain until he heard again from his Lordship.

[43] See Toby Matthew's letter of 14th April, 1617, p. 21, wherein he says, "The great peece of huntinge is sould and carried away for an hundred pound sterlinge."

[44] In a "List of my (Sir D. Carleton's) Pictures, given the 1st September, 1618, to the King of Denmark's merchant," [see p. 46] the one I have numbered 6 is a hunting-piece, 8 feet high and 11 feet long, which is no doubt the same mentioned here.

VI. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON.[45] (*Extract.*)

Louvaine, $\frac{\textit{Jan. 27}}{\textit{Feb. 6}}$, 1616-7.

MAIE IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP:

* * * * *

Mr. Gage hath written to Rubens to know what he will undertake concerninge the paintinge of those Birds, wherin y^{u} shalbe advertised; but we are alredie out of doubt but that in other respects your huntinge peece will be at least as good as the other, w^{ch} I thinke the Duke of Arscot buyeth for an hundred pounds, and w^{ch} the Arch-Duke had bought long ere this, if anie roome of his howse at Brussells would have held it, excepting alwaies his great hall, w^{ch} is yours or mine as much as his. But I verilie thinke the Painter will not take anie thing lesse then your Chaine, especiallie if he cause the Birds to be painted by that other Maister,[46] and I rather doubt whether he will oblige himself to that. Your L^{p} shall know what he saieth as soone as I know it, and I will governe myself for y^{u}, as if it were mine owne case.

As for the picture of the battaille w^{ch} y^{u} desire, y^{u} mistooke Mr. Gage if y^{u} thinke he spake of tenne pound as the price of it; for he and I caused a coppie of eleven feet in length, and eight in depth, as I remember, to be taken for Generall Cecill, w^{ch} cost twentie pounds, though it were drawn not by Franck,[47] who was the first Master, but by another. Soe as herin y^{r} L^{p} must resolve eyther to spend more, or to content your self wth a coppie in small volume.

* * * * *

I continue a most humble and affection^{te} Servant,

TOBIE MATTHEW.

VII. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON.[48] (*Extract.*)

Louvaine, Feb. $\frac{15}{25}$ 1616-7.

MAIE IT PLEASE Y^{R} LO^{P}:

I HAVE seene, at last, the answeare of Rubens to Mr. Gage, w^{ch} is precisely thus. He will not make the lesser huntinge peece

[45] Printed in Supplement to Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné of Painters," p. 237.
[46] François Snyders, see note 58, p. 23.
[47] Sebastien Vranckz, see note 59, p. 23.
[48] Printed in Supplement to Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné of Painters," pp. 237-8.

for lesse then y^r L^ps chaine. Concerninge the causinge of anie part therof to be made by Snyder, that other famous Painter, y^r L^p and I have been in an errour, for I thought as y^u doe, that his hand had been in that Peece, but sincerly and certainly it is not soe. For in this Peece the beasts are all alive, and in act eyther of escape or resistance, in the expressing wherof Snyder doth infinitlie come short of Rubens, and Rubens saith that he should take it in ill part, if I should compare Snyders w^th him in that point. The talent of Snyders is to represent beasts but especiallie Birds altogether dead, and wholly w^thout anie action; and that w^ch y^r L^p, Mr. Gage, and I sawe of his hand, w^ch we liked soe well was a Gruppo of dead Birds, in a picture of Diana, and certaine other naked Nimphes, as Rubens protesteth, and Mr. Gage avoweth, and now myself doe well remember it. This was the ground of y^r L^ps errour and mine. I wrote to y^r L^p some fortnight since, but then I was not able to speake soe clearly Ex mente authoris; soe as I shall doe nothing upon y^r L^ps answeare to my last, but will expect y^rs to this, because to this it maie be absolute. If y^r L^p like not the condition, I will presentlie put the chaine into Mr. Tromball's hands, well seene and sealled up, accordinge to former directions, to be convayed. If y^r L^p be pleased to exchange your Chaine for the Picture I will take all the paines I can, and Mr. Gage will gladlie use all the judgement he hath, to make the Maister doe it excellentlie. But indeed there will be no neede of it, for I see he is disposed to doe his best; and me thinkes he rather chuseth not to doe it, then to doe it soe as not to get hon^r by it.

* * * * *

Y^r L^ps ever most humble and affectionate Servant,

TOBIE MATTHEW.

VIII. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON.

Brussels, $\frac{\textit{Feb. } 20}{\textit{March } 2}$, 1616-7.

MAIE IT PLEASE Y^R L^P:

I AM called by some necessarie occasion to Paris, or elce I would not goe in these times of soe great danger. If this purpose had not come suddenlie upon me I had offred sooner to serve y^r L^p in that place. It will certainlie be after Easter before I returne, and if in the meane tyme y^u need anie factour there I

desire that I maie be the man. Anie letters that come in the meane tyme hither concerning y^r^ Pictures, or Chaine, I have appointed to be delivered [to] Mr. Gage, that he maie doe upon the reading of them, as I would, if I were present. Soe in great hast I humblie kisse my good Ladies hand, and yours

Your L^ps^ most affectionate Servant,

TOBIE MATTHEW.

IX. W. TRUMBULL[49] TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, March $\frac{4}{14}$, 1616-7.

RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD:

* * * * *

I have delivered y^r^ l. l^res^ to Mr. Gage, beeing nowe in this Towne: and he pretendeth that in the ende of this weeke, he will make a journey to Antwerp, of purpose to speake w^th^ Rubens about yo^r^ l. pictures.

* * * * *

Yo^r^ good L. moste ready to be commanded,

W. TRUMBULL.

X. G. GAGE[50] TO SIR D. CARLETON.[51] (*Extract.*)

Brussels, Marsh $\frac{4}{14}$, 1616-7.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORD^P^:

* * * * *

I missed very narrowly Sig^r^ Rubens 3 dayes since at Louain but I purpose to goe shortly to Antwerp, where I will not faile to complye in all diligence with y^r^ L. order, taking it to bee aliquid boni propter vicininum bonum to bee imploied in y^r^ service whom my frende and I so much honour. I doe not see how (with all the craft I have) I shall bee able to make any other bargain with Rubens then for the chaine, his picture. The rest of the money will procure two pictures of Brugel and Sniers, but they are like to bee very litle. That which occures to mee is to deale by Rubens as for myself, who by continual exchainge of workes and truckings can get them to doe something, as for him, better cheape then any

[49] See note 30, *ante*, p. 10.

[50] See *ante*, p. 14, note, 40.

[51] Printed in Supplement to Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné of Painters," pp. 238-9.

man els. If any thing occurre better I will follow it. There is no harme in proposing. They have in Antwerp a yong man who hath lived long in Italy, who I think is the rarest man living in Lantscape. I am sorry I forgot to show y^r^ L. him at y^r^ being there. If y^r^ L. shall give mee order, I thinck a matter of 20 crownes would not bee worse bestowed that way if you care for Landscapes then of any of the rest.

* * * * *

Y^r^ L. most humble servant,
G. Gage.

XI. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON.[52] (*Extracts.*)

Louvaine, April, $\frac{14}{24}$, 1617.

May it please y^R^ Lordship:

At my returne from Paris I finde a letter of y^r^ L^ps^ concerninge y^r^ Pictures, wherin the paines that Mr. Gage hath alredy taken dischardgeth mine. He went to Antwerpe to see them all in hand, and I dare say by his report who hath seene the beginninge of them that they will be to y^r^ L^ps^ contentment. If any thinge more occurre concerninge this matter I will adde it by way of postscript if the Phisicke w^ch^ he is takinge will not give himselfe leave to write at this tyme.

* * * * *

Your L^ps^ ever at comaundement,
Tobie Matthew.

Post. Noe more occurreth concerninge y^r^ L^ps^ pictures but that y^r^ L^p^ cannot have them all these two or three moneths, and that Bruegel[53] hath two peeces in hand almost finished, wherof the

[52] Postscript, printed in Supplement to Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné of Painters," pp. 239-40.

[53] John Breughel, called Velvet Breughel, on account of the peculiarity of his dress, was a son of Peter Breughel the Old, and was born at Brussels in 1568. He was taught to paint in miniature by Peter van Aelst, but his last master was Peter Goekindt, who instructed him in oil painting. He studied a long time at Cologne, painting fruits and flowers after nature, which were regarded as prodigies, and soon obtained for him a great reputation. Rubens admired his paintings so much, that he employed him in several of his pictures. One of their finest joint performances was "Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden," which Smith, in his "Catalogue Raisonné" (vol. ii., p. 113), describes as a matchless production, and was sold in the collection of Madame Backer, at Leyden, in 1766, for £661—now worth 1200 guineas. He died on 12th January, 1625. Rubens was so attached to John Breughel, that he offered himself as tutor to his two daughters, and composed the Latin epitaph for

bigger is to be of fourteene pounds sterlinge at the last word, it beinge of a baskett full of flowres, the lesser is a pott of flowers, and a garland of flowres lyinge by it, and the lowest price of that is twelve pound. Mr. Gage conceiveth the lesse much more exquisitely to be done then the other, and desireth to know y^r^ minde. Franck and Snyer have both begunne pictures for y^r^ L^p^: Rubens is well forward, and it will be a rare peece. The great peece of huntinge is sould and carried away for an hundred pound sterlinge.[54]

XII. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extracts.*)

Lovaine, June, $\frac{16}{26}$, 1617.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP:

I HAVE received your L^ps^ of the 20^th^ of June, and concerninge my returne into England I meane to putt in effect[55]—as soone as I shall have recovered a litle healthe w^ch^ I am goinge to seeke at the Spaw.

* * * * *

Your Pictures shalbe done before I goe, and if they should not Mr. Gage hath soe diligent an affection towards your service as that nothinge will be lost by my absence. I have in my hand fortie florens of your L^ps^ and your L^p^ maie at your comoditie make over as payable to Mr. Gage or me the hundred and twentie crownes whereof you wrote for your three lesser pictures. That w^ch^ I have of yours in my hand maie defraie the chardge of makinge them up in cases, and the rest I will leave in *Mr. Wake's*[56] hand to be disposed of at your L^ps^ pleasure upon anie such imployment as maie arise herafter.

* * * * *

Your L^ps^ ever humble and affectionate servant

TOBIE MATTHEW.

his tomb (printed by Michel, p. 86), which he also decorated with a portrait of the deceased, painted by himself.—Descamps, tom. i. pp. 375-9; Michel, pp. 85-6.

[54] This is no doubt the "hunting-pecce" mentioned in his former letters of 29th September and 20th December, 1616, which is in the possession of the King of Bavaria.

[55] He evidently did so, for Ed. Sherburne writes to Carleton from *London*, on 23rd August, 1617, and says Toby Matthew remembers his best love and service to his lord^p^.

[56] Lionel Wake was an English merchant trading at Antwerp, and frequently employed by Rubens to pack and transmit pictures. In Nov., 1627, Sir John Hippesley "made stay [at Dover] of one Lionell Wacke and his soun who came to passe over in to France bycase he refused to take the oath of aleagence and bycause he heares he is a very riche man and lendes the Archduches great storre of monies."

XIII. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, July $\frac{8}{18}$, 1617.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP:

* * * * *

As for the sending away your Pictures before I went, Mr. Gage will be as carefull in seinge them well put into your hands as he hath beene in makinge your severall painters to outstrippe themselves in what they have done for y^{w}, and I dare say y^{w} are to have somwhat from them w^{ch} is thrice worth your money. He stayeth here, and will upon all occasions be most affectionately redie to serve your L^{P}.

* * * * *

Mr. Gage will sett all accompts streight betweene us, and I continue

Your L^{ps} intirely affectionate freind and servant,

TOBIE MATTHEW.

XIV. LIONEL WAKE TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Antwerp, Aug. $\frac{16}{26}$, 1617.

S^{R}:

THIS inclosed from Mr. Gage will assure you of the performance of such things as you weare pleased to comande me to perfforme by y^{r} l^{res} of the 8 of July: Mr. Gage hath left wth me 2 casses wth certayne picturs, the w^{ch} I will send you by the first shipp that shall depart from hence towards the Hage, the w^{ch} I doubt will not be yett in 8 or 10 dayes, for that there is none yet lading. Mr. Trumbull hath sent me a pass from the finances that they shall pass free on this syde of all Gabells: and I will direct them to you, w^{ch} I think is suffitient to free them at Lillo.

* * * * *

At y^{r} honno^{rs} comandment,

LYONELL WAKE.

[*Inclosure.*]

XV. G. GAGE TO SIR D. CARLETON.[57] (*Extract.*)

Brussels, Aug. $\frac{13}{23}$, 1617.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORD^{P}:

To deale plainly and ingeniously with y^{r} Lordship, I must con-

[57] Printed in Supplement to Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné of Painters," p. 240.

fesse that by my negligence it hath happened, that you have not receaved your Pictures almost a month since. For before my going to Dunkerch (whither I did accompany my frend Mr. Matthew) your pictures were finished, payed for, and encassed up in Mr. Wake's house. The errour was, that at my departure out of Brussels, having many things to troble a weake braine, I forgot to get by Mr. Trumbal a billet of free passage for those peeces, which only hath bin the cause of their stay. I hope their goodnesse will make some part of amends for this fault. I will not commend them, only I will tell y^r^ Lordsp: concerning that of Sniers,[58] y^t^ I have bin wooed to let some have it for more money then it cost, and I doe assure yow that it hath bin esteemed by some very judicious workemen and gentelmen at a 100 crownes. Your L^s^ money hath bin thus reparted according to the best bargaines that I could make: Rubens had the cheyne never valued heere above £14 sterling, Bruegell had £14, Sniers £12, and Sebastian Franc[59] £10.

* * * * *

Y^r^ L. most humble servant,
G. Gage.

Understands he has received divers antique heads and statues out of Italy,—wishes to know if they were bo^t^ of Daniel Nice, sh^d^ much like to see them, especially if any Statues as large as life.—See Appendix C.

[58] François Snyers, or Snyders, born at Antwerp in 1579, was a pupil of Henry Van Balen, and of Pierre Breughel, in 1593. He became "Maître" in 1603, and painted animals and fruits so exquisitely as almost to deceive beholders. Rubens was the first to praise and appreciate his talents, and he frequently employed him to paint fruits and animals in his own pictures. One of his paintings, representing a stag hunt, made his fortune. Philip III., king of Spain, having seen it, ordered him to paint several grand subjects for him. He died 1657, aged 78.—Descamps, tom. i. p. 330, with MS. notes, by M. Mols.

[59] Sebastien Vranckz—for so he wrote it himself—was of quite another family to the Francken (improperly written Franck), with which the Biographers have confounded him. It is true there was a Sebastien Francken, who was called the Younger, perhaps, to distinguish him from another Francken, or from Sebastien Vranckz. The former was the son of François Francken the Elder, and his pupil. Van Mander confounds him with the other artist, but later authors have no excuse for so doing, because Van Dyck painted the portrait of Sebastien Franken the Younger, engraved by Hondius, with the inscription below, "Sebastianus Francken, junior, humanarum figurarum minorum Pictor," which should have sufficed to distinguish him from the other Sebastien, who was a painter of battles, and who generally put his monogramme SV upon the rump of a horse in his pictures. He was born at Antwerp in 1573, was received "Maître" in 1601, and his name will be found on the list for 1612 of the "Doyens des Maîtres-peintres" of Antwerp.—M. Mols, MS. note in Descamps, tom. i. p. 281.

XVI. G. GAGE TO SIR D. CARLETON.[60]

Peronne, $\frac{Oct.\ 22}{Nov.\ 1}$, 1617.

My Lorde:

I HOPE y^r^ L^p^ will beare with ill inck and paper, since I am forced to answeare your last out of an Inne in a vagare, that I am fetching for some few monthes into Spaign. I am exceeding glad your L. pictures came to your handes so well conditioned, which I thought long till I heard, and I thinck it not amisse to put y^r^ L. in minde of one thing concerning them, which is that yow keepe them not to long roled up (as often it happineth) before yow hang them up, for it would much prejudice the colors.[61] The hunting peece of Rubens in my opinion is excellent,[62] and perhaps preferable to the first, because when a Master doth a thing the second time, lightly it is for the better. I imagin in your praise of the others, y^r^ L. excepteth this *cum semper sit excipiendus.*—Plato. The peece of Sniers (as I thinck I told you) was judged heere by skilful men worth 100 crowns. And howsoever yow esteeme there your Jaques de Ghein,[63] yet wee preferre by much Brugel, because his thinges have neatnesse and force, and a *morbidezza*, which the other hath not, but is cutting and sharpe (to use painters phrases) and his things are to much ordered. I delivered to Sig^r^ Rubens what y^r^ L. wrightes to mee concerning y^r^ heades and statuaes. Hee and I were both sorry that I had resolved on this jorney, els wee would both have visited y^r^ Lord-

[60] Part printed in Supplement to Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné of Painters," pp. 240-1.

[61] See Gerbier's Letter to Rubens, of $\frac{1}{11}$ Sept., 1635, who alludes to the great injury done to the pictures for the Banquetting House at Whitehall, "through being rolled up almost a whole year."

[62] This is no doubt the picture measuring 11 feet by 8 feet [Numbered 6], described in Carleton's List of Pictures, 1st Sept., 1618, and the "first" here alluded to is most probably the one in the possession of the King of Bavaria.

[63] Jacques de Gheyn was born at Antwerp, in 1565, and was an admirable painter upon glass. He died about the age of 50 (Descamps, tom. i. p. 249); but a MS. note by M. Mols states that "Jacques Van de Gheyn was received 'Maître' in 1558, as a painter upon glass, according to the Register of the Academy of Painters at Antwerp; and it is therefore probable that this Jacques de Gheyn is another artist of the same name; or rather the father of Jacques, who might have been born in 1565; but no other artist of this name and profession appears on the registers." Pilkington, in his "Dictionary of Painters," describes James Gheyn as the son of James Gheyn, an eminent engraver, at Antwerp, of which city he was a native. He studied at first under his father, after which he went to Italy, where he had Tempesta for his instructor. He painted landscapes and flowers, and died in 1630. He also practised engraving with reputation.

ship. That which can bee donne is, that at my returne (which I shall bee by the grace of God in the Spring) wee will goe together to wait upon yow, and I doubt not but there will bee contentment given and received on both sides. But, if by any occasion y^r^ L^d^ should bee removed from that place before the Sommer Sig^r^ Rubens entreateth y^r^ L. to cause him to bee certified in a worde therof, and hee will not faile himself alone to wait on you. Thus beseeching y^r^ L. to command mee with all freedome whersoever I shall bee in any thing that shall occurre for y^r^ service, with my humble service to my good Lady, I rest

Y^r^ Lordship's most humble servant,

G. Gage.

[*Translated from the Latin.*]

XVII. SWERT[64] TO CAMDEN.[65]

Antwerp, $\frac{\text{Feb. } 28}{\text{March } 10}$, 1617-8.

Dear Camden:

I have received your letters on our common business, and return you my undying thanks. I do not now answer yours, money matters preventing. I send [*a book entitled*] Europa Rediviva [Europe Revived], the author of which is our friend Scrieckius; at page 59 you will find the name of Camden, also The Historical Encomium of Henry IV., King of the French, and an Ode on his Statue, which I received from the author. You will also see the opinion of Peter Paul Rubens, the Antiquary and Apelles of our time, upon the Statue of Isis. Farewell. I do not write more: at another time, further.

[*Inclosure.*]

[*Translated from the Latin, which see in Appendix* A, No. 1.]

XVIII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO F. SWERT.

My dear Mr. Swert: [*Antwerp, Feb.* 1617-8.]

To confess the truth, I have never been able clearly to perceive the Isis of our worthy friend Mr. Camden, nor indeed from a figure so rude (I ask the Artist's pardon) have I been able

[64] Francis Swert, a celebrated Flemish Historian and Antiquary, was born in 1567, and died in 1629.

[65] The Originals are in the British Museum. Cott. MS. Julius C. V. fol. 240-1.

to form a probable conjecture. As for the heifer, unless her existence be credited on the faith of Mr. Camden, I should say she were something else, as the shape, proportions, gait, and pose, wonderfully contradict the properties of an animal of her class. Apis, who is almost always represented in ancient marbles, at least as often as I have observed, either by the side of Isis or of Egyptus himself, includes the proper stature of an ox almost full-grown; his side, furthermore, is symbolized by its peculiar mark of a moon more than half-full; also, he has the horns and other characteristics of an ox; but what girl has ever fondled a cow instead of a lap dog, and has nursed it in her lap?

With regard to the garland and fillet very usual to Isis, and indeed, her inseparable accompaniment, here does not appear at all, for, unless I am deceived, no one ever saw her painted or designed without a sistrum, which is her distinctive mark. But lest I should say nothing, although I would not venture to affirm anything for certain in a matter so obscure, *I will observe*,—If this animal be an heifer, I should suspect it to be for some vow for good harvests, according to that verse,—Thou shalt make a sacrifice for good harvests with an heifer; this being received as the interpretation, as the patera (bowl) bearing corn would lead us to suppose; and the drinking vase in the other hand, entirely different from the urns of rivers, both in the volume of its waters and in its shape, for they poured in their sacred festivals libations. As the lanfera (laurel) crowns appropriated to sacred rites were made of flowers, leaves, gold, or any other material, as we may learn from many examples. Good sir, reckon this nothing to the matter in hand, but for my affairs abundantly sufficient, which call me hence away. The inquiry concerning Isis we must leave entire and unaltered. Farewell, and continue to love me always.

Altogether your's
PETER PAUL RUBENS.

THE twelve following letters, from Rubens to Carleton, and from Carleton to Rubens (March to May, 1618), Mr. Carpenter has printed in a volume containing Pictorial Notices of Van Dyck and other Painters patronised by Charles I., and I am under great

obligations to that gentleman, for allowing me to copy his translations, which are here reprinted: the letters are exceedingly interesting, but it will be seen that I have found others which tend to complete the history of this transaction. It appears by Gage's letter dated 22nd October, 1617 (ante, p. 24), that he delivered a message to Rubens from Carleton, concerning his heads and statues, which seems to have led to this negotiation. (See Appendix C.)

[*Translated from the Italian.*]

XIX. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

Antwerp, March $\frac{7}{17}$, 1617-8.

Most Excellent Sir:

Having heard from many persons of the rarity of the antiques which Y. E. has collected together, I longed to come to see them, in company with your countryman, Mr. George Gage, but on account of the departure of that gentleman towards Spain, and in consequence of the pressure of my business, this idea has been given up. Still, Y. E. having expressed to Mr. Gage that you would determine on making some exchange with me of those marbles for pictures by my hand, I, as being fond of antiques, would readily be disposed to accept any reasonable offer, should Y. E. continue in the same mind; but I cannot fancy a better expedient to arrive at some negotiation than by means of the bearer of this letter, to whom Y. E. being willing to show your collection, and permitting him to take *an inventory*, so that he may be able to give me an account of it, I will also send you a list of those works that I have at home; or, should they be done on purpose, such pictures as would be more to Y. E.'s taste. In short, one could begin to form some negotiation that would be well for both parties. This gentleman is called Francis Pieterssen de Grebbel, a native and an inhabitant of Harlem,—an honourable and respectable person, on whose sincerity we may place the greatest confidence. With this I commend myself with all my heart to Y. E.'s good graces, and pray heaven to grant you happiness and content.

From Y. E.'s most humble servant,

Peter Paul Rubens.

To the Most Excellent Lord, and my most respected patron, Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador of the King of Great Britain at the Hague.

[*Translated from the Italian. Indorsed by Carleton, "From Mr. Rubens, the 28th of April, 1618, rec^d the 6th of May, 1618, an^d the 8th."*]

XX. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

Antwerp, April $\frac{18}{28}$, 1618.

Most Excellent Sir:

By the advice of my agent, I have learnt that Y. E. is much inclined to make some bargain with me about your antiques; and it has made me hope well of this business, to see that you go earnestly about it, having named to him the exact price that they cost you: in regard to this, I wish wholly to confide on your knightly word. I am also willing to believe you purchased them with perfect judgment and prudence; although persons of distinction are wont usually, in buying and selling, to have some disadvantage, because many persons are willing to calculate the price of the goods by the rank of the purchaser, to which manner of proceeding I am most averse. Y. E. may be well assured I shall put prices on my pictures, such as I should do were I treating for their sale in ready money; and in this I beg you will be pleased to confide on the word of an honest man. I have at present in my house the very flower of my pictorial stock, particularly some pictures which I have retained for my own enjoyment; nay, I have some re-purchased for more than I had sold them to others; but the whole shall be at the service of Y. E., because brief negotiations please me; each party giving and receiving his property at once; and, to speak the truth, I am so overwhelmed with works and commissions, both public and private, that for some years I cannot dispose of myself: nevertheless, in case we shall agree, as I anticipate, I will not fail to finish as soon as possible all those pictures that are not yet entirely completed, though named in the herewith annexed list, and those that are finished I would send immediately to Y. E. In short, if Y. E. will make up your mind to place the same reliance in me that I do in you, the thing is done. I am content to give Y. E. of the pictures by my hand, enumerated below, to the value of six thousand florins, of the price current in ready money, for the whole of those antiques that are in Y. E. house, of which I have not yet seen the list, nor do I even know the number, but in everything I trust your word. Those pictures which are finished I will consign immediately to Y. E., and for the others that remain in my hand to finish, I will

name good security to Y. E., and will finish them as soon as possible. Meanwhile I submit myself to whatever Y. E. shall conclude with Mr. Francis Pieterssen, my agent, and will await your determination, with recommending myself, in all sincerity, to the good graces of Y. E., and with reverence I kiss your hands.

From Your Excellency's most affectionate servant,

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

To the most excellent, most esteemed, Sir Dudley Carleton,
Ambassador of the most serene King of Great Britain
to the States of the United Provinces, at the Hague.

[66] LIST OF PICTURES WHICH ARE IN MY HOUSE.

500 florins. 1. A Prometheus bound on Mount Caucasus, with an Eagle which pecks his liver. Original, by my hand, and the Eagle done by Snyders.

600 florins. 2. Daniel amidst many Lions, taken from the life. Original, the whole by my hand.[67]

600 florins. 3. Leopards, taken from the life, with Satyrs and Nymphs. Original, by my hand, except a most beautiful Landscape, done by the hand of a master skilful in that department.

[66] The Pictures which I have numbered will be found the same as those described by Carleton, in a "List of my Pictures given to the King of Denmark's merchant," 1st Sept., 1618. See pp. 45, 46.

[67] This picture was presented by Sir Dudley Carleton to Charles I., and is inserted in the printed catalogue of his collection at page 87 : —

"Done by Sir Peter Paul Rubens. No. 14.

"Item. A piece of Daniel in the Lions' Den, with Lions about him, given by the deceased Lord Dorchester to the King, so big as the life, in a black gilded frame."

The picture is now the property of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, and is at his palace in Scotland.—Carpenter's Pictorial Notices of Vandyk. See Rubens' letter of 3rd September, 1621 (p. 60), in which it will be seen that he had almost finished a large picture representing a Hunt of Lions, which was ordered by Lord Digby for the Marquis of Hamilton.

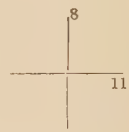
500 florins. 4. A Leda, with Swan and a Cupid. Original, by my hand.

500 florins. Crucifixion, large as life, esteemed perhaps the best thing I have ever done.

1200 florins. A Last Judgment, begun by one of my scholars, after one which I did in a much larger form for the most serene Prince of Neuberg, who paid me three thousand five hundred florins cash for it; but this, not being finished, would be entirely retouched by my own hand, and by this means will pass as original.

500 florins. 5. St. Peter taking from the fish the money to pay the tribute, with other fishermen around; taken from the life. Original, by my hand.

600 florins. 6. A Hunt of men on horseback and Lions, commenced by one of my pupils, after one that I made for His most Serene, of Bavaria, but all retouched by my hand.[68]



50 florins each. The Twelve Apostles, with a Christ, done by my scholars, from originals by my own hand, which the Duke of Lerma has, each having to be retouched by my hand throughout.

[68] Smith, in his Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of Rubens, at No. 250, describes a duplicate of the King of Bavaria's picture of this subject, as being in the Dresden Gallery.—Carpenter. See "List of my Pictures," indorsed by Carleton, 1st Sept. 1618, p. 46.

600 florins. A picture of an Achilles clothed as a woman, done by the best of my scholars, and the whole retouched by my hand, a most brilliant picture, and full of many beautiful young Girls.[69]

300 florins. 8. A St. Sebastian, naked, by my hand.[70]

300 florins. 9. A Susanna, done by one of my scholars, the whole, however, retouched by my hand.[71]

[*Translated from the Original Draft in Italian, written by Carleton, who has indorsed it "To Rubens y^f 8th of May,* 1618."]

XXI. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

Hague, $\frac{\textit{April}\ 27}{\textit{May}\ 7}$, 1618.

My very illustrious and most kind Sir:

I received the day before yesterday your most agreeable letter of the 28th April, in conformity with your preceding one of the 17th of March, concerning my marbles, and instantly reflecting in the presence of the bearer of it, on the list of your pictures annexed, I made choice of some, but having since very maturely considered what they were, I find that the Crucifixion is too large for these low buildings, and those also of England, and in lieu of it, I will accept (if you like) the St. Sebastian. I do not dispute the prices of them, esteeming them reasonable, since they are not copies, nor the work of scholars, but all from your hand, just as the whole of my antiques show the hand of the master. It would be very agreeable to me, if you, Sir, would take the trouble of coming into these parts (where my house is yours) before pro-

[69] Lord Alford possessed a picture by Rubens of this subject, but of much smaller dimensions than those stated above.—Ibid.

[70] Mr. Yates, of Bond Street, has a St. Sebastian by Rubens, the dimensions differing very little from those given above.—Ibid.

[71] A picture of this subject, by Rubens, and of nearly these proportions, was in the Houghton Collection, which is now in Petersburgh.—Ibid.

ceeding any further in the transaction, not to buy, as one is wont to say, the cat in the bag; but your affairs not permitting this, and all things proceeding with the exchange, you, Sir, may calculate on having in this collection of marbles, the most costly and most precious in hoc genere, which no prince or private person, whoever he may be, on this side the mountains can have. But to persons who are always in motion, as my situation obliges me to be, a thing of so much weight is not convenient, and then (to confess all) homo sum humani nihil a me alienû puto; sometimes people change their minds, and mine has shifted within a short time from sculptors to painters, but more particularly to Mr. Rubens. Now, to adjust our account and to shorten the business, the number of pictures by your hand not sufficing, the whole of which (*i. e.*, the Prometheus, the Daniel, the Leda, the Crucifixion, St. Peter, and St. Sebastian) do not come to the price[72] . . . . . 3500 florins, I have proposed a mode to . . . . . agent Francis Pieterssen, to divide . . . . . that is to say, half pictures and half tapestry of Brussels manufacture, letting alone (as before mentioned) the Crucifixion. You, Sir, thinking well of this proposal, it will be the work of few days, and such is necessary for the perfect satisfaction of both parties, you wishing despatch, and I being obliged to make a journey into England, towards the end of the present month. I send you, Sir, enclosed a letter addressed to the person who acts as Agent for the King my master, at Brussels, and send it open with a loose seal, to the end, that should circumstances require it, you may accommodate yourself to the contents. I also write to a certain English Merchant residing in Antwerp, to be informed as to the tapestries which may be found there ready finished, agreeable to my measure and taste, taking this precaution to gain time, and these letters not being for any other object, it is unnecessary to deliver them at all, if it does not please you. From this place I will arrange so (should it be necessary) . . . passage will be as much for the one as the other, and to avoid the inconvenience in other instances, it is well that all be done promptly. As to the rest, remitting myself to Mr. Francis. With much affection, Sir, I kiss your hands.

From your most affectionate at command,

DUDLEY CARLETON.

[72] The words wanting in the spaces are torn away in the original draft.

[*Translated from the Italian, indorsed by Carleton "From Mr. Rubens, of 12th of May, 1618."*]

XXII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

Antwerp, May $\frac{2}{12}$, 1618.

Most Excellent Sir:

Your very agreeable letter of the 8th instant reached me yesterday evening, by which I perceive Y. E. to have in part changed your mind, wishing pictures for the half only of the price . . . . . marbles, and for the other half tapestries . . . . ready money, because I shall not find these, non mediantibus illis, and this appears to proceed from the want of pictures on my list, having taken only the Originals, with which I am perfectly content; yet Y. E. must not think that the others are mere copies, but so well retouched by my hand that with difficulty they would be distinguished from originals, notwithstanding which they are put down at a much lower price: but I am unwilling to persuade Y. E. to this by fine words, because persisting in your first opinion I could still furnish until . . . . of pure originals, but in order to treat . . . . I imagine that not . . . such a quantity of pictures. The reason . . . I would treat more willingly in pictures is clear, because they do not exceed their just price in the list, nevertheless they cost me nothing, as every one is more prodigal of the fruits which they grow in their own garden, than of those that they buy in the market; and I have expended this year some thousands of florins on my buildings, nor am I willing for a caprice to exceed the bounds of a good economist. In fact, I am not a prince, sed qui manducat laborem manuum suarum. I wish to infer that if Y. E. wishes to have pictures to the full amount, be they originals, or be they well re-touched copies (which show more for their price) I would treat you liberally, and am always willing to refer the price to the arbitration of any intelligent person. If however you resolve on having some tapestries, I am content to give you tapestries to your satisfaction to the amount of two thousand florins and four thousand florins in pictures; that is, three thousand florins for the originals chosen by you, namely, the Prometheus, the Daniel, the Leopards, the Leda, the St. Peter, the St. Sebastian, and for the remaining thousand florins you can choose from the other pictures comprised in our list; and in truth I pledge myself to give you such originals by my hand

for that sum as shall be deemed satisfactory by you, and if you will believe me you will take that Hunt which is on the list, which I will make of equal excellence with that which Y. E. had by my hand, which should match excellently together, this being of . . . . European huntsmen, and that of lions . . . à la Moorish and Turkish, very singular . . . . . this I would do at six hundred florins: in addition to this the Susanna, similarly finished by my hand to your satisfaction, would be apropos with some other galanterià by my hand, attached by way of compliment, for the hundred florins to complete the four thousand florins. I hope you will be satisfied with this so reasonable an arrangement, *consideratis considerandis*, that I have accepted your first offer with frankness, and that this change comes from Y. E. and not from me. I certainly could not increase my terms for many reasons; you will be served in giving me as early . . . of your resolution and in case you may be . . . to accept my offer you can at your pleasure . . . . your departure for England consign the marbles to Mr. Francis Pieterssen, and I will do the same by those pictures which are ready, and the remainder in a few days. In the tapestries I could be of great assistance to your mercantile friend by the great experience I have had with these Brussels tapestries, from the many commissions which come to me from Italy and other parts for similar works; and besides, I have made some cartoons very sumptuous, at the request of some Genoese gentlemen, which are now being worked, and to say the truth, if one wishes to have exquisite things, they must be made on purpose; of this I will willingly take care that you shall be well served, though in this I defer to your opinion. To conclude, I kiss Y. E.'s hand with all my heart, to whom *in omnem eventum nostri negotii*, I shall always be the most devoted servant. Mr. Francis Pieterssen has not yet sent me the list of your marbles, and I should wish even, in case we come to terms, that list with the names which you write to me that you have found.

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

I beg, if the affair be concluded that you will continue . . . . to procure free passage for them, and if you still have the packing cases in which these marbles have been conveyed from Italy, being . . . . . useless to you, they would to me be a great convenience, wishing . . . . in this journey.

[*Translated from the Italian.*]

XXIII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR D. CARLETON.

Antwerp, May $\frac{10}{20}$, 1618.

Most excellent Sir:

I have just to-day received notice from my friend Pieterssen as to Y. E. having finally agreed with him conformably to my last offer. *Quod utrique nostrum felix faustumque sit.* I have already, whilst negotiating, given the finishing touch to the greater part of the pictures taken by you, and brought them to that perfection I am able, so that I hope Y. E. may be entirely satisfied with them. The Prometheus, the Leda, the Leopards, the St. Sebastian, the St. Peter,* and the Daniel, are entirely finished, which I am ready to consign to that person whom you shall send to me with an express order to receive them; the fact is, that they are not yet perfectly dry, on the contrary, they require to remain on their stretching frames for some days yet, before they can be rolled up without danger, nor shall I fail, with divine aid, on Monday next to put hand to the Hunt and the Susanna, with that trifle for the hundred florins; animated more by the desire of honour than of profit, knowing the importance of preserving the good graces of a person of your condition. Touching the tapestries . . . . . I can say little, because having given the . . . to-day to Mr. Lionello,[73] believe . . . . . with him he would not even to me . . . . that Y. E. gave him an absolute order . . . to have that to do to confer with others of which I am . . . the least trouble, I not being of a disposition to put myself forward. Therefore, I conjure Y. E. to be pleased to give me orders to whom I ought to pay the two thousand florins in money, which I shall not fail to do at sight of your order. I cannot, however, abstain from telling Y. E. that at present there is little that is good in the manufactory of tapestries at Brussels, and to my judgment the one that is least bad, is a chamber

* The St. Peter alone wants some little.

[73] Mr. Lionel Wake. See *ante*, p. 21, note 56.

with the history of Camillus, four braccia and a half in height, eight . . . which makes 222 braccia,* of . . . florins, the braccia as exactly . . . . similar, that same story taken . . . . cartoons, and of the same quality. Mr. Cabbaulo at the Hague, where Y. E. may . . . . . and decide according to what shall appear to suit; to me, as I have said, it imports nothing; and I shall rejoice much if Mr. Lionello shall render good service to Y. E. To whose good graces I recommend myself; with sincerity, and with humble reverence I kiss your hands, remaining always the most devoted servant of Y. E.

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

* Two hundred and twenty-five braccia cost two thousand four hundred and forty-two florins, if I mistake not.

The Pictures promised to Y. E. shall, by divine assistance, be entirely finished in eight days without fail.

To the most Excellent Lord, and my esteemed Patron, Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador of His Maty of Gt. Britain at the Hague.

[*Translated from the Italian. Indorsed "Copie de la lettre escripte à Monsr. Rubens, du 22e de Mey,* 1618." *The Postscript is in Carleton's handwriting.*]

XXIV. SIR D. CARLETON TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

Hague, May $\frac{12}{22}$, 1618.

MY MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND KIND SIR:

FOR an answer to your last letter of the 12th inst., I have referred to your friend Pieterssen, I being then under the hands of the Physician. Now I have received that other letter of yours of the 20th, by which you, making known that you persist in your determination in regard to the exchange, with the conditions laid down by you, I am ready to give every satisfaction on my part, the marbles being in excellent condition to be delivered to Mr. Pieterssen at any time he may present himself to take them; and he shall also have the cases into the bargain, in which they came from Italy, and those that are wanting shall be furnished. As regards the pictures, hoping that the six (namely, the Prometheus, the Leda, the Leopards, the St. Sebastian, the St. Peter, and the

Daniel) will be perfectly finished by the time appointed by you (which is the 28th instant). I will send about that day a man on purpose to bring them here in safety; you assuring me that the other three will be wrought to a state of perfection in reasonable time, and forwarded to the Hague. I am about procuring two passports, one to accompany the marbles, the other shall be brought by my man, for the pictures and the tapestries, which will be either the History of Camillus you recommend, or another chamber four braccia in height, that will be more for my use: and for the choice of the one or the other, I shall refer to that servant of mine when he arrives, so without releasing you from your courteous offer of assisting me with your advice. And as to some other tapestries made at Brussels, after cartoons designed by you, I would willingly know the story and the measurement, being then able to regulate the price, and having considered at what time to furnish myself with that rarity; so that this our bargain serves only as a commencement to a more extended correspondence between us; offering myself in exchange to serve you, either here or in other places where I may be useful, in all things which may be to your gratification. You will write to me (if you please) the probable time when the three pictures shall be finished, that I may be able to give orders for the bringing of them . . . . Hunt, I intend it to be a companion to the one I have at home. The Susanna ought to be beautiful to enamour even old men, and for the discretion I must not be fastidious, coming from the hand of a person so prudent and honourable: and thus I have conformed in all and every part to the contents of your two last letters, saving that I cannot subscribe to your denial of being a Prince, because I esteem you the Prince of Painters and of Gentlemen, and to that end I kiss your hands.

From your most affectionate to serve you,

DUDLEY CARLETON.

Since writing this I have seen the tapestry of Camillus, which has a very beautiful border but very ugly figures, and for that reason I send a servant of mine, in order to give me an account of the tapestries that are to be found in the manufactory, that I may make choice, and at his return I will then give order about everything. At this moment the marbles are being packed.

XXV. SIR D. CARLETON TO J. CHAMBERLAIN. (*Extract.*)

Hagh, May $\frac{13}{23}$, 1618.

S^R:

* * * * *

I am now saying to my Antiquities *Veteres migrate coloni* having past a contract w^th^ Rubens the famous painter of Antwerp for a sute of tapistrie and a certaine number of his pictures, w^ch^ is a good bargaine for us both, onely I am blamed by the painters of this country who made ydoles of these heads and statuas, but all others coñend the change.

* * * * *

Y^rs^ most assured,

DUDLEY CARLETON.

XXVI. LIONEL WAKE TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Antwerp, May $\frac{14}{24}$, 1618.

S^R:

* * * * *

We have spoken w^th^ Mons^r^ Robbins who hath given the just measure of y^r^ pictures and sayth that they shall be ready and hath promised to write unto you by y^r^ servant, if not to-morrow by the post, and so expecting y^r^ farth^r^ resolutions herein I take my leave ever resting at

Y^r^ hono^rs^ comandment to serve you,

LYONELL WAKE.

[*Translated from the Italian. Indorsed by Carleton, "From Rubens y^e^ 26th of May, re^d^ by John Frith."*]

XXVII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR D. CARLETON.

Antwerp, May $\frac{16}{26}$, 1618.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR:

I HAVE given all the correct measurements of the whole of the pictures to that Man of Y. E.'s, who came to take them by order of Y. E. to have the frames made, although you had not mentioned this to me in your letter. For some time I have not given

a single stroke of the brush, unless it be for the service of Y. E., so that all the pictures, even the Hunt and the Susanna, together with that sketch which closes our account, as well as those of our first agreement, will by divine aid be finished on the precise day of the 28th inst., agreeable to my promise. I hope you will be content with these works of mine, both as regards the variety of the subjects, and for the love and desire which urge me to serve Y. E. with so much zeal. I doubt not in the least that the Hunt and the Susanna will appear amongst the originals. The third is painted on panel, about three feet and a-half in length, by two feet and a-half in height, altogether original. It is a subject as it were neither sacred nor profane, although taken from Holy Writ; namely, Sarah in the act of scolding Hagar, who, pregnant, is leaving the house in a feminine and graceful manner, with the assistance of the Patriarch Abraham.[74] I did not give the measure of this to your man to have a frame put about it; it is done on panel, because little things succeed better on it than on canvass, and being so small in size will be transportable. I have engaged, as is my custom, a very skilful man[75] in his pursuit, to finish the landscapes, solely to augment the enjoyment of Y. E.; but as to the rest be assured I have not suffered a living soul to put hand on them, from the desire not only of most punctually abiding by my promise, but to increase that obligation of desiring to live and die Y. E.'s most devoted servant. I cannot, however, affirm so precisely as I could wish, the exact day when all these pictures will be dry, and to speak the truth, it appears to me better that they should go away altogether, because the first are newly retouched; still, with the aid of the sun, if it shines serene and without wind (the which stirring up the dust is injurious to newly painted pictures) will be in a fit state to be rolled up with five or six days of fine weather. For myself, I should wish to be able to consign them immediately, being ready to do everything that shall be agreeable to you; but I should be very sorry indeed, if from too much freshness they were to suffer any injury on the way, which might cause some regret to Y. E., in which I should in a great degree participate.

In respect to the tapestries, I can say little, because, to confess the truth, at present there are no very fine things, and as I wrote,

[74] This picture is now in the possession of the Marquess of Westminster.—Carpenter.
[75] Most probably John Wildens.—Ibid.

they are rarely to be found without having them wrought on purpose; yet the History of Camillus not pleasing you, I do not think that man of yours had any disinclination towards the one of Scipio and Hannibal, which might perhaps better please Y. E. (and to speak frankly, in all these things the selection is arbitrary) without dispute of great excellency; I will send Y. E. the whole measurements of my cartoons of the History of Decius Mus,[76] the Roman Consul who devoted himself for the success of the Roman people; but I shall write to Brussels to have them correct, having given every thing to the master of the Works. Meanwhile, recommending myself strongly to the good offices of Y. E., and with humble affection I kiss your hands.

From Your Excellency's most devoted Servant,

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

The two thousand florins shall be punctually paid at the pleasure of Y. E. I confess to feeling a great desire to see these marbles, the more so that Y. E. assures me of their being things of price.

[*Translated from the Italian. Indorsed by Carleton, "From Mr. Rubens, y^e^ 26th of May, rec^d^ the 28th."*]

XXVIII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR D. CARLETON.

Antwerp, May $\frac{16}{26}$, 1618.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR:

I AM surprised that Mr. Francis Pieterssen should not yet have presented himself at the Hague, as he had written to me that he should return here by the 19th, namely, Saturday last; and from Y. E.'s letter I understand that up to the 23rd he had not shown himself: I now write to him a letter, in which I exhort him to proceed to you immediately, and if by chance any impediment should offer itself, that he should send some able person for the purpose of presenting to Y. E. a note written by my own hand. Should neither he nor any other person in his name appear directly: I beg Y. E, will take the trouble to let me know imme-

[76] Four large cartoons representing the most distinguished feats of the Consul Decius, done as patterns to be executed in tapestry, were sold in the collection of M. Bertell's, at Brussels, in 1779, for 1500 florins—£135. See Smith's Catalogue of the Works of Rubens, p. 182.

diately, that I may not fail to dispatch a man on purpose, on your first notice. We have had to-day so fine a sun, that (a few excepted) the whole of your pictures are so dry that they could be packed to-morrow. The same may be hoped of the others in the course of three days, according to the appearance of the good season. I have nothing further at present than to kiss with all reverence Y. E.'s hands.

From Y. E.'s most devoted Servant,
PETER PAUL RUBENS.

To my most Excellent and most Esteemed Lord, Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador of His Ma^ty^ of Gt. Britain, at the Hague.

[*Translated from the Italian.*]

XXIX. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR D. CARLETON.

Antwerp, May $\frac{16}{26}$, 1618.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR:

Y. E. will at your pleasure deliver your Antiques to Mr. Francis Pieterssen, the bearer of this, or to whomsoever shall on the part of the said Pieterssen present this note, which will be as safely consigned as into my own hands. To conclude, I kiss with humble affection Y. E.'s hands.

From Your Excellency's most devoted Servant,
PETER PAUL RUBENS.

To the most Excellent Lord, Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador of His Ma^ty^ of Gt. Britain, at the Hague.

[*Translated from the Original Draft in Italian, written by Carleton, who has endorsed it "Minute de la l^re^ à Mons^r^. Rubens, du 29 de Maij,* 1618."]

XXX. SIR D. CARLETON TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

Hague, May $\frac{19}{29}$, 1618.

MY MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND KIND SIR:

AGREEABLY to your note of the 26th inst. I have delivered the whole of the marbles in good condition into the hands of Mr. Francis Pieterssen, who now goes in person towards you, to bring hither both the pictures and the tapestries promised me in exchange; and, since you, by your letter under the same date,

write that within three days all the pictures would be dry and fit to be packed, we have now more than sufficient time for that effect, and as nothing was wanting on my part in regard to these things, both as to the packing and forwarding them with care for your satisfaction; I rely equally on some little pains being taken with the pictures, and that you will send them with the tapestries, so that I may have them all by Saturday next. In the interim the marbles will be forwarded. I, wishing to procure the passport for them, and give it also into the hands of the master of the vessel, who takes the things by order of Mr. Pieterssen, receiving from him his bond in writing in regard to the pictures and tapestries, which, on his return with the before-mentioned things, will be restored to him. This is the best expedient we have found to adjust the affairs of both parties, without either the one or the other losing time. Sir, I kiss your hands.

From, Sir, Your most affectionate at command,

DUDLEY CARLETON.

[*The Original Draft by Carleton is endorsed, "Minute of a l'e to Mr. Wake of the 29th of May,* 1618."]

XXXI. SIR D. CARLETON TO LIONEL WAKE.

Hague, May $\frac{19}{29}$, 1618.

MR. WAKE:

THE bearer hereof, Frances Pieterson of Harlem, is father to the yong man I mentioned in my letter w^{ch} I sent you yesterday by S^{r} Francesco Balbani, he going expressly to bring hether the pictures and hangings w^{ch} I am to have of Mr. Rubens in exchange of my statuas and other antiquities of marble all w^{ch} I have this day fully delivered to this bearer himself in Mr. Rubens behalf. I pray you facilitate the businesse as much as you may, to the end I may have the things here by Saturday next; w^{ch} may well be yf I be well dealt wth, as I misdowt no other: For any custome or rights that shall be demaunded I had rather pay them then stay, yf the pasport be not come from Bruxells. Any difference that shall be in the price of the hangings I will adjust wth you uppon y^{r} l^{re} according as by my last I wrote unto you, and for the choise I remaine of the same minde as then, desiring to have y^{e} stories of Scipio. Uppon the chests or cases both of the Pictures and hangings this marke must be sett DC wth a superscription in the Duch Language adressed unto

me, wherby they will come untouched according to a pasport w^ch^ this bearer hath w^th^ him.

Thus w^th^ my heartie coñendac̃ons, I am

Y^r^ very assured frend,

DUDLEY CARLETON.

[*Translated from the Italian. Indorsed by Carleton, "From Rubens y^e^ 1st of June, rec^d^ by Petersen y^e^ 3rd, 1618."*]

XXXII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR D. CARLETON.

Antwerp, $\frac{May\ 22}{June\ 1}$, 1618.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR:

IN compliance with Y. E.'s order, I have paid the two thousand florins to Mr. Lyonell, for which he has given a receipt in his own hand, and will give advice to Y. E., and I have delivered the pictures* likewise to Mr. Francis Pieterssen; the whole in good condition, and packed with care, with which I think Y. E. will be perfectly satisfied, as Mr. Pieterssen was astonished in seeing them all finished *con amore*, in order, in a row. In a word, in lieu of a chamber furnished with marbles, Y. E. receives pictures sufficient to adorn an entire palace independent of the tapestries. Touching the measurement, which proved rather smaller than you expected, I did my best, taking the dimensions of the hanging with the measure current in these countries, and be well assured, that this trifling difference imports nothing as regards the price, in making the account of the pictures different from that of the tapestries, which are purchased by measure; but these, according to their excellence, subject, and number of figures: nevertheless, the trouble which it gave me is so gratifying and honourable, that I conceive it to be a very high favour, so much so, that I shall most willingly send my Portrait to Y. E., provided you, reciprocating, will be pleased to do me the honour to allow me to have in my house a memorial of your person, conceiving it to be reasonable that I should place a much higher value on you, than you on me. I have just to-day received the marbles, which I have not yet been able

* The Daniel, the Leopards, the Hunt, St. Peter, Susanna, St. Sebastian, Prometheus, Leda, Sara and Agar.

to see, from the hurry of Pieterssen's departure, still I hope they will be equal to my expectations. Mr. Lyonell took upon himself the charge of procuring a free passage for your things, I having delivered the letter of Y. E. for Brussels many days since ; I did not find that a convenient route for my marbles, so that I obtained the object by other means ; nevertheless, I remain with infinite obligations towards Y. E. for all that has been done in our favour, with which I shall make an end, kissing with all my heart Y. E.'s hands, and desiring to be ever Your most devoted servant,

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

To the most Excellent and most Esteemed Lord, Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador of His Ma^ty of Gt. Britain, at the Hague.

XXXIII. LIONEL WAKE TO SIR D. CARLETON.

Antwerp, $\frac{May\ 23}{June\ 2}$, 1618.

S^R :

I HAVE receaved y^r severall leẽs of the 28 of the last moneth, and according to y^r order have bought for you the Story of Scipio, w^ch cost 11 florins the ell, and doth q̃, as you may perceave by this inclosed note @ 202½ amounting unto 2227½ florins, whereof I have receaved of Mons^r Rubens 2000 florins, and in regard there was no order from Brussells for the free passing of them, I was forced to pay for the licent and oth^r tolls, 101 florins and 4 stuyvers. I do expect order for the restitution of it, for I did declare it uppon the tolls in y^r owne name and for y^r owne use. Mr. Rubens never sent y^r leẽ to Mr. Wolly, but gave it to me some 4 or 5 dayes synce, the w^ch I sent, and I do houerly expect the order to the officers to have the money agayne, so that you need not make it me over before you do here from me agayne : I doubt not but you will have receaved both y^r pictures and hanginges befor this cometh unto y^r hands : But Peterson never came to me about them, but sent Mons^r Rubens his man for the hangings the w^ch I d^d, and so hoping that you will accept of my goode will to serve you herein or any thing ells wherin you wilbe pleased to com̃and me I take my leave ever resting at

Y^r Honnors com̃andment to serve you,

LYONELL WAKE.

XXXIV. LIONEL WAKE TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Antwerp, $\frac{\text{Oct. } 24}{\text{Nov. } 3}$, 1618.

S^{R}:

Although I have receaved from Mr. Trumbull an order unto the officers of this towne for the restitution of the monys payd for the licent of things for y^{r} honnor, yet because y^{r} owne note doth not as well speciffy the pictures as well as the hangings they do make difficulty therein, so that I doubt beefore I shall gett the mony, that y^{r} honn^{r} must send an other note, specifying both the hangings and 8 pictures, oth^{r}wise they will allow me but the hangings allone. When I have ended wth them I will desyre you to cause the monny to be repayd in this towne, for that I have no correspondent in those parts. The remaynder of the tapistry is just 227½ flors. wth some petty charges whereof I will send the particulars.

* * * * *

at Y^{r} hon^{rs} coñandment to serve you,

Lyonell Wake.

[*Translated from the Italian. Indorsed by Carleton.*]

"List of my pictures given the first of 7^{ber} st^{o} vet. to the K. of Denmark's marchant, brought unto me by Mr. Hugins."[77]

XXXV. INVENTORY OF A CERTAIN COLLECTION OF PICTURES WHICH ARE IN HOLLAND, ALL FURNISHED WITH GILT FRAMES.

September 1, 1618.

Secondo la mesura d'Alv ersa

largo	piedi	alto	piedi.
9		8	

1. A Prometheus bound on Mount Caucasus, with an Eagle which pecks his liver. The Prometheus by Rubens. The Eagle done by Snyders.

8		12	

2. Daniel amidst many Lions, taken from the life. All by the hand of Rubens.

[77] The Pictures which I have numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, are those taken in exchange by Carleton for his Antiques, &c., and described in the "List of Pictures," *ante*, pp. 29—31.

3. Leopards taken from the life, with Satyrs and Nymphs, by the hand of Rubens, and with a most beautiful landscape, done by the hand of a master skilful in that department.

4. A Leda, with Swan and Cupid. All by Rubens.

5. St. Peter taking from the fish the money to pay the tribute, with other fishermen around, taken from the life. All by Rubens.

6. An Arab Hunt on horseback, and Lions. The whole by Rubens.

7. A European Hunt, with Wolves and Foxes. The whole by Rubens.

8. A Saint Sebastian. By Rubens.

9. A Susanna. By Rubens.

10. The Rape of Proserpine. By Tintoretto Vecchio.

11. The Contention of Mars and Apollo concerning Music. By Tintoretto Vecchio.

12. The History of Jupiter and Semele. By Tintoretto Vecchio.

[*Translated from the Italian, which see in Appendix* A, No. II.]

XXXVI. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

Antwerp, May $\frac{18}{28}$, 1619.

Most excellent Sir:

I have not by any means deceived myself in believing Your Excellency to be the only one who can by his dexterity conduct to an end negotiations otherwise impossible. Certainly it was opportune, the chase of such formidable animals which you gave to those Signors, as well as the fishing of the Apostles, which truly have become for us fishers of men. As Your Excellency astutely hints to me, it does not appear to me strange because all things are of greater efficacy under their own climate. In fact, without these means nothing is obtained, altho' the reason alleged by the States General that I was not their subject or resident in their States is not of such consideration, as other Princes or Republics have ever alleged it, it appearing to them just to provide that their subjects do no wrong or injury to any other person, with invasion on the labours of others. Besides that, all potentates, although distrustful amongst themselves in greater matters, are accustomed to be of one accord in favouring and protecting virtue, sciences, and the arts, at least, they ought to do so. The specification of my pretension I have sent to that friend, who will give your excellency a most accurate account of it. In the mean time I beg Your Excellency to lend your hand to the undertaking, even to its entire perfection. And, finally, I kiss your hands with a thousand thanks for the esteem and great affection which you evince towards me who truly desire to be of some value in serving you more to your and my own taste.

Your Excellency's
Most humble servant,
Peter Paul Rubens.

It often happens in an assembly of many who have become favourable one by one that many of those Lords, notwithstanding when united together, act altogether contrary to their particular promises, wherefore I beg Your Excellency to consider with your

accustomed prudence, if our pretension may not run the risk of stumbling anew in the same repulse, and if you presage anything although ambiguously, I beg you at once to interrupt the design, without making other instance; not that I am already changed in thought, nor that I think it little to obtain this favour, but for other great causes, it is not agreeable to me to be importunate in soliciting it, and again I kiss Your Excellency's hands.

XXXVI*. LORD DANVERS TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

My Lo: *Cornbury Parke*, 12 *July*, 1619.

* * * * *

And now lett me also no less thankfully acknoledge y^r^ Lo: carefull remembrance of my picture, w^ch^ accordinge to Rubens' letter is delivered Mr. Lock to be sent to Anwerp. I see thear hath bine valew inough sett upon the owld peece, and in exchaynge on singular is much better then divers indifferent, the storye or severall desighnes I leave to y^r^ Lo: choyse and remayne

Y^r^ Lo: trew frend to serve you,
H. Davers.

XXXVII. THOMAS LOCKE[78] TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Right hono^ble^: [*Westminster*], *July* 17, 1619.

My humble duty remembered unto yo^r^ L^p^.

* * * * *

I have receaved answere of my lr̃es from my Lo. Danvers, and he hath given order for the sending of that peece to Antwerp. I have seene it, there must be a great deale of care used in the packing of it, w^ch^ will not be w^thout^ some charge, for there must be a frame of boords of the bignes of the peece, and some soft substance put betwixt. I knowe not whether his L^p^ have given order for the disbursing of that w^ch^ it shall cost; if he have not, I will lay it out, and see that it shalbe carefully don, when I send it I will consigne it by a lr̃e unto Rubens in y^r^ L^ps^ name, referring him to y^r^ L^p^ for the disposing of it, I thinck I shall have oportunitie to send it this next weeke.

[78] Thomas Locke was Keeper of the Council Chest, and many of the Council Minutes are in his hand-writing. On 31 July, he writes to Carleton,—"The picture of the Creation wilbe sent this weeke. Will. Dieston hath promised to see it convayed, he goeth over with Mr. Trumbull." See also Appendix K.

My Lo. Danvers referreth him to y^r L^p, saying that you know his mind and desires therein, the peece is much fretted and peeled alreadie in diverse places.

* * * * *

Y^r L^ps servãnt,
TH. LOCKE.

XXXVIII. LORD DANVERS[79] TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

MY LO: *Hatton House, 7th, August,* [1619].

Now the picture of the Creation[80] is gone to Ruben, geve me leave to accept against soum such of his workes, as ar made to be sett at great distance for our roumes ar littell in this cold cuntrye of England, and pleasinge peeces to stand ten fowte hye sutes best w^th our clime; even such an on as y^r Lo: Daniell w^th thoes bewtifull lions in the den would well satisfye my desire, and now I have sayed for that matter.

* * * * *

Y^r Lo: most assured to serve you,
H. DAVERS.

XXXIX. T. LOCKE TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

MY HUMBLE DUTY REMEMBRED UNTO YO^R L^P: *Westminster, Sept.* 18, 1619.

* * * * *

The picture was much galed and fretted before it was sent from hence, w^th (they said heere that knewe it) was done when it came over first w^th the salt-water, but now there could no water nor any thing else come to it to hurt it, if it came thither as it went from hence.

* * * * *

Y^o L^ps faythfull servant,
TH: LOCKE.

[79] Henry Danvers, the second son of John Danvers, Knt., and Lady Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir to Nevil, Lord Latimer, was born at Dantsey, co. Wilts, in 1573, and served in the Netherlands under Maurice of Nassau, afterwards Prince of Orange; also in France under Henry IV, by whom he was knighted. Was Lieut. of Horse and Serjeant-Major of the Army in Ireland, under Robert, Earl of Essex, and Charles, Baron Mountjoy. King James I. created him Baron Danvers of Dantsey, in July, 1603, Lord President of Munster and Governor of Guernsey. Trumbull writes from Brussels on 1st September, 1615, that "Lord Danvers was among the prisoners detained at Brussels, and treated with much severity." By King Charles I, he was created Earl of Danby in February 1626, a Privy Councillor in July 1628, and a Knight of the Garter. He died in 1644, when his honours became extinct.

[80] See p. 52.

XL. JOHN WOLLEY [81] TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, $\frac{Jan^{y}.\ 29}{Feb.\ 8}$, 1619-20.

Right honorable, my very good Lord:

According to yo^r Lo: command, in my passage through Antwerp, when I came from yo^u, I repayred to Mons. Rubens about the Picture: and before this tyme, I would not have fayled to have given yo^r Lo: an accompt of my proceeding therein, w^th him, and in what case I found the said picture; but my stay in this towne, after my arryvall was not above three or fouer houers, beeing imployed by my M^r. in a busines w^ch concerneth his Ma^ties service some 4 or 5 dayes journey from hence, and it is but a fewe dayes since I am returned back; this hath ben the only cause of my so longe sylence, for w^ch I moste humbly crave pardon of yo^r Lo:

After I had made knowen the cause of my comming to him, by his speech and answer, I found him both willing and desirous to doe yo^r Lo: any service: and he desired me to give yo^r Lo: all humble thancks for the care and paynes yo^r Lo: doth take in his busines, w^ch he shall not be able to deserve. After further talke had w^th him, he brought me into a chamber, where the said pictor stood, and there I tooke a narrow view of it: I find it very much cracked, and spoyled, the couller in many places beeing come off, a good breadth: and there is more of it w^ch hangeth so gingerly upon the cloath, that w^th the leaste touch that may be it falleth away also: In so much as in my opinion, (w^ch I muste confess is but small) the said peece, if it weare to be sould, as it is now so broken, would not yeald much money: but he esteemes it at £10: —sterling, or some thing more, only to drawe coppies by it, confesseing w^thall, that if it weare parfitt, it were worth about 50 or £60 sterling, to w^ch I answered, it is true, that it is some thing broken, yet not so much, but that he who is so good a Master, might w^th a little labor repayer those faultes, and make it good againe, (to w^ch said he, I doe thincke I could doe as much as any other, but neither I nor any man els is able to mende it). In w^ch opinion M^r. George Gage is also, whose advice I have desired aboute it, and he hath promised me, when he goeth for Antwerp w^ch wilbe very shortly (beeing now recovered againe of his sicknes)

[81] John Wolley was the bearer of Trumbull's Despatches. In June, 1623, he became his Secretary.

to goe to Mons^{r} Rubens howse, and see it; (over whome he hath more authority then any man I know) and he will deale wth him in such manner, as that yo^{r} Lo: shall have satisfaction. In the meane while I will tell yo^{r} Lo: that I found him no wayes willing to make any peece of his oune hand, or procure one of the hand of some other rare Master, w^{ch} should be juste of that bignes, wthout adding to the said Pictor a good somme of money: Yet he is contented either to make the Hunting of the Woolfe him selfe, or gett donne a Conflicte, Lanskips, Prospectives, or flowers, by the beste Masters in these Countryes; and send it yo^{r} Lo: and and what yo^{u} thinck it may be more worth, then that he hath in his hands, he wilbe contented wthall. But if yo^{r} Lo: will have that of the Woolfe, the posture of them, must be a good deale lesse then that yo^{r} Lo: hath at home, wherefore he thincks some one of the other would be more fitting, yet he will leave it to yo^{r} Lo: choise.

* * * * *

Yo^{r} Lo: moste humble and
ever ready to be commanded,
JOHN WOLLEY.

XLI. W. TRUMBULL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, October $\frac{17}{27}$, 1620.

MY LORD:

* * * * *

Mr. Mathew is nowe absente at Leege, so that I cannott speake to him about yo^{r} L: picture made by Rubens: but I have written to him, and sente that yo^{r} L: was pleased to authorise me to open. Either by both, or one of us yo^{r} L: shall have that busines donne wth all possible care and circumspection.

* * * * *

Yo^{r} L: most affectionate and humble servante,
W. TRUMBULL.

XLII. W. TRUMBULL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, November $\frac{6}{16}$, 1620.

MY SINGULER GOOD LORD:

* * * * *

For yo^{r} L: picture Mr. Mathewe and I will joyne o^{r} cares,

creditte, and dilligence to procure it at the beste, and easyest rate. And ether jointly or severally, wee will repaire thether (I meane to Antwerp) to gett yo^r L: contentment; or at leaste to bring Sig^r Rubens to a price indifferent.

* * * * *

Yo^r L: most faithfull and devoted servante,
W. TRUMBULL.

XLIII. W. TRUMBULL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, November $\frac{19}{29}$, 1620.

MY SINGULER GOOD LORD:

* * * * *

Sig^r Rubens hath finished yo^r L: picture, and by his lre to me doth affirme, that yo^r L: Creation of Bassan^o [82] is not woorth (of any mans monney) above 50 or 60 gilders: and for the other he hath made for yo^r L: that it is finished; and to shewe his love and respect to yo^r L: he wilbe contente for his paynes w^th 100 [*sic*]. M^r. Mathew before this tyme is gonne to Antwerp to viewe it, and at his retourne (if he wryte not himself) I will acquainte yo^r L: w^th his reporte.

* * * * *

Yo^r L: moste affectionate servante,
W. TRUMBULL.

XLIV. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR L^P: *Antwerp, November* 25, 1620.

I HAVE receaved your L^ps of y^e 12 of y^e last, and as soone as I found by Rubens y^t y^e Caccia [Hunt] was ended I came hither to serve your L^p. I have seen both y^e Creation and y^e Caccia; they

[82] Giacomo da Ponte, commonly called Il Bassano, born at Bassano in 1510, was a long time in Venice, but, as he had neither studied the antiques nor visited Rome, he contented himself by imitating nature, in which he succeeded most marvellously. It is related that Annibale Carachi said that "He was an excellent painter, and worthy of better praise than Vasari gave him, because, besides the fine pictures that may be seen of his, he achieved miracles such as are reported of the ancient Greeks, deceiving by his art not only animals but men; which I can certify; for, being in his room one day, I was myself deceived in reaching to take hold of a book, which I believed was one, but was in truth only a picture." He died 3rd February, 1592, aged 82.—Felibien, Entretiens sur les Vies des Peintres, tom. i. pp. 732-4.

"The Creation of the Animals of Bassano vecchio," in an Acc^t between Daniel Nis and Carleton of $\frac{16}{26}$ March, 1613-4, is put down at 220 Ducatts (see Appendix, B.).

are just of a bigness. The Creation is so intirely spoyled, y^t^ for my part I would not be bound to hange it up in sight, though he would give it me for nothinge; and he offers it to me, or to any body for fifteene Duckatts. It daily growes worse and worse by any indeavor y^t^ he can use to restore it. The Cornile came not w^th^ it.

The Caccia is of an excellent desseigne. There ar Lyons and Tygars, and three men on horse backe (some in halfe figures) huntinge and killinge beastes and beinge killed by them. The originall was a rare thinge and sold to y^e^ Duke of Bavaria for a hundred pound starlinge, but it was bigger than this. Rubens confesseth in confidence y^t^ this is not all of his owne doing and I have thanked him for this confession, for a man who hath but halfe an eye, may easily discerne it; but he protests that he hath touched it over all, in all y^e^ partes of it. I must confess a truth to yo^r^ Lo: (though I know he will be angry at it, if he knows it) y^t^ it scarce doth looke like a thinge y^t^ is finished and y^e^ colorito of it doth little please me, though upon y^e^ whole mattir it be a gallant peece, for y^e^ desseigne of it is precious.

I did, w^th^ all y^e^ discretion I had, deale w^th^ him about y^e^ price, but his demands ar like y^e^ Lawes of Medes and Persians w^ch^ may not be altered. He valued, as he sayth (in a letter to Mr. Trumbull) his Caccia at a hundred Philipps besides y^e^ Creation. I wish y^t^ letter had not been written, for I see it helpes to oblige him to be unreasonable. Yet I was so imprudent as to offer him fifty Duckatts and so by degrees, but y^e^ cruell courteous Paynter would not sett a less price upon it then before; but told me, as he sayd he told Mr. Trumbull, y^t^ he would referr himselfe to your L^ps^ curtesy. I told him plainly y^t^ I would not oblige you to such a proportion of expence, y^t^ I thought he might content himselfe w^th^ less; y^t^ yow did but ordayne this picture out of a compliment to a friend of yours in England, and y^t^ if he would not color I would tell your L^p^ in what case thinges stood, and what I had seen and what I had sayd, y^t^ your L^p^ might take your owne resolution. And so your L^p^ sees I do, and if yet any thinge remayne to be done by me, I am both in this and in any thinge of your L^ps^ concerne as ready as your L^ps^ owne hart can thinke or wish, and so I continue

Your L^ps^ most humble and
most affectionate servant ever,
Tobie Matthew.

Post. If the case were mine, I would make no difficulty to send him fourescore Duckatts and to thinke y^{t} he might well be contented wth it. For rarely though I had much use for such a picture, I would be very loath to give him for it 15 pound. Yet perhaps for so small a matter, you will not have him be able to say y^{t} you ar content to beate a bargayne wth him.

Post. Your L^{p} will have heard how Van Dike his famous Allieno is gone into England, and y^{t} the Kinge hath given him a Pension of £100 p^{r} ann. I doubt he will have caried y^{e} desseigne of this piece into England; and if he have, I durst lay my payre of hands to a payre of gloves, y^{t} he will make a much better Piece then this is for halfe y^{e} money y^{t} he asks. Perhaps I am deceaved; but I thought fitt to tell your L^{p} playnly all y^{t} I knowe, or feare in this; though I doubt not but your L^{p} will dexterously governe the knowledge of it, for else this fellow will flye upon me. Yet please your selfe, for I am at a poynt.

Y^{r} L^{ps}

T. M.

XLV. W. TRUMBULL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, $\frac{\text{Nov. } 28}{\text{Dec. } 8}$, 1620.

Right Honorable my very good Lord:

* * * * *

For yo^{r} Caccia made by Rubens, I referre yo^{r} L: to the answere made by Mr. Toby Mathew, who gives me assurance, that it is not woorth the monney whereat it is prised; because little, or nothing, of it is donne wth the said Rubens his owne hande. Obedience shall be yeelded to the commande yo^{r} L: shall sende about that busines.

* * * * *

Yo^{r} good L: faithfull and
most devoted servante,
W. Trumbull.

This "Caccia" appears by Lord Danvers' letter of 27th May, 1621 (see p. 57), to have been bought by Carleton for Prince Charles. Trumbull writes to Carleton from Brussels on $\frac{\text{26 Dec. 1620}}{\text{5 Jan. 1621}}$:—

"The tyme is so shorte since I received yo^{r} L: laste lr̃e (w^{ch} was

but yesterday), w^th^ the bill of exchange of £65 : for S^rs^ Rubens and my friend, as I have no leisure to answere it, nor courage to mannage my penne."

On $\frac{3}{13}$ January, 1620-1 :—

"I will cause yo^r^ L: Caccia to be well packed up by Rubens; and sent to Mr. Lock by the first opportunity."

Again on $\frac{9}{19}$ January, 1620-1—

"To-morrowe I will dispatch one of my servantes towardes Antwerp, about yo^r^ L: picture made by Rubens."

And on $\frac{13}{23}$ January :—

"Yo^r^ L: picture shall be sente into England by the first commodity and directed to Mr. Locke according to yo^r^ L: order: and the monney shall instantly be delivered to Seig^r^ Rubens."

But from the correspondence which follows, this picture by Rubens does not seem to have given satisfaction; and Lord Danvers (see his letter, p. 57) says the Prince will not admit it into his gallery.

XLVI. W. TRUMBULL TO [SIR D. CARLETON]. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, January $\frac{18}{28}$, 1620-1.

My Lord:

* * * * *

Yo^r^ L: picture made by Rubens is nowe absolutely finished, and made ready to be transported to Mr. Lock. I have by Mr. Toby Math. judgem^t^ made upon it, endevored to gett him rebate some what of his exorbitant price. But he maketh semblance to take it ill, that any body should comptrolle his resolution; and referreth himself wholly to Yo^r^ L: for his satisfaction. The money allotted for him is in the handes of one of my frendes at Antwerp: called Mr. John Corham, and he shall not part w^th^ it untill I have yo^r^ L: answere. Herew^th^ I sende yo^r^ L: an extract of Rubens his lr̃e to me; as I would have done the originall; but that I would fayne shewe it to Mr. Mathew. So in extreme haste I humbly take my leave and remayne

Yo^r^ L: most affectionate
and devoted servante,
W. Trumbull.

[*Enclosure.*]

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A, No. III.]

XLVII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO W. TRUMBULL.

Antwerp, January $\frac{16}{26}$, 1620-1.

Sir:

The Picture that I have painted for my Lord Ambassador Carleton is quite ready and securely packed up in a wooden case, in which it can very well be sent to England. I will without any difficulty give it up to the care of M. Corham, provided that he will be pleased to take it, or to send his porter for it. But as to gainsaying what I have said, to our Judges, to wit that the Picture is not worth as much, that is not my way of acting. For if the picture had been painted entirely by my own hand, it would be well worth twice as much. It has not been gone over lightly by me, but touched and retouched everywhere alike by my own hand. I will conform exactly to all I have said, though notwithstanding the picture is of that value, the obligations that I am under to my Lord Ambassador will make me contented with whatever recompense his Excellency may think it good and just to award me, without any comment on my part. I do not know what more to say nor how to submit myself more entirely to the good pleasure of this gentleman, whom I esteem more than any body would believe. The picture by Bassano, which I had in exchange, is so spoilt, that such as it is, I will sell it to any one for fifteen crowns.

Trumbull writes to Carleton on the 6th March, 1620-1—

"Rubens is paid for yo^{r} L: picture, and my friend at Antwerp hath delivered it to Mr. Dickenson,[83] who hath undertaken to transporte it safely to Mr. Lock. De illo plaira, at a tyme of leisure."

[83] John Dickenson acted as Ambassador at the Hague during Sir Ralph Winwood's absence in July, 1609, was "Clerk of the Council Extraordinary sent into Germany," "Secretary to Sir Edward Conway and Sir Richard Weston."—See Sign Manuals 3 and 12 March, 1620-1.

XLVIII. T. LOCKE TO SIR D. CARLETON.[84] (*Extract.*)

[*Westminster,*] *March* 18, 1620-1.

Right Honorable:

* * * * *

I have delivered the picture to my Lo: Davers, he made a motion to have me write to Rewben before he would pay the mony to this effect. That the picture had bin shewed to men of skill, who said that it was forced and slighted, and that he had not shewed his greatest skill in it, and for that cause my Lo: would have him make a better if he could and he should have this againe, and be pleased for the other what he would have, for seing the Prince hath none of Rewbens worke but one peece of [85]*Judith & Holofernes, w^ch Rewben disaroweth*, therefore he would have a good one or none, as for this he said that he had not yet sett it amongst the Princes pictures, neither would untill it were avowed from Rewben to be a master-peece. I told my Lo: that I knew yo^r L^p had taken all possible care about it, and that I dowbted not but that it would prove as good as it should be, but notwithstanding that I would write to y^r L^p to the effect of his L^ps speech, and that if it pleased his Lo^p to let me have the mony that yo^r Lo^p had layed out that you had comanded me to receive it, and so I had the £25 :—

* * * * *

Yo^r L^ps faithfull and humble servant,

Th. Locke.

XLIX. LORD DANVERS TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

St. James', May 27, [1621].

My Lo: A.:

* * * * *

But now for Ruben; in every paynters opinion he hath sent hether a peece scarse touched by his own hand, and the postures so forced, as the Prince will not admitt the picture into his

[84] Printed in Supplement to Smith's Catalogue Raisonné of Painters, pp. 241-2.

[85] See Rubens' letter to Trumbull of $\frac{3}{13}$ Sept., 1621, p. 59; also P. P. Rubens, his Life and Genius, from the German of Dr. Waagen, p. 85. In this class of subjects, (those remarkable for the representation of physical horrors) may be mentioned Judith in the act of cutting off the head of Holofernes with a kind of hatchet; the wretch in the agonies of death turns up his eyes in a most horrible manner: engraved by Corn. Galle.—Smith's Cat. Raisonné, No. 1001.

galerye. I could wishe, thearfore that the famus man would doe soum on thinge to register or redeem his reputation in this howse and to stand amongst the many excelent wourkes w^{ch} ar hear of all the best masters in Christendoum, for from him we have yet only *Judeth and Holifernes*, of littell credite to his great skill, it must be of the same bigenes to fitt this frame, and I will be well content to showte an other arrow of allowinge what monye he may aske in exchaynge, and theas Lions shall be safely sent him back for tamer beastes better made. In y^{r} own busines you will receave satisfaction from such as ar more able to informe you, yet is thear no man more affectionate to doe y^{r} Lo: servis then

H. Davers.

L. W. TRUMBULL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Postscript.*)

Antwerp, June $\frac{11}{21}$, 1621.

Mr. Tob. Mathew is here. I conjecture he may take it unkyndely that yo^{r} L: hath not yet made answear to his last lr̃e, sente wth the picture he did visitt in the handes of Rubens.

LI. W. TRUMBULL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

[*Brussels,*] *July* $\frac{21}{31}$, 1621.

My singuler good Lord:

* * * * *

Mr. Toby Mathew wente yesterday towardes Callais.—At his retourne (w^{ch} wilbe shortly) wee will joyne o^{r} forces to reduce Rubens to a reasonable agreem^{t} wth my L: Davers, and (wth yo^{r} L: favo^{r}) it were better to have a little patience then to marre a good bargaine by ill manageinge, or for wante of counsell.

* * * * *

Yo^{r} L: humblest serv^{t},
W. Trumbull.

LII. W. TRUMBULL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, September $\frac{1}{11}$, 1621.

My singuler good Lord:

* * * * *

Mr. T. Mathew doth carry this lr̃e to Antwerp, from whence

he will wryte to yo^{r} L:, and give yo^{u} an answere about yo^{r} desyred picture. I have broken that busines to Rubens by a fewe woordes and will give yo^{r} L: an accompt of that he shall retourne me upon the same subject. And so I humbly take my leave and remayne,

Yo^{r} L: most affectionate and humble servante,

W. TRUMBULL.

LIII. W. TRUMBULL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, September $\frac{7}{17}$, 1621.

RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD:

* * * * *

Mons^{r} Rubens by his l̃re testifyeth a desyer to please his Ma^{tie}, and to give yo^{r} L: all contentment. Towardes him I have donne my best endevors, and beseech yo^{r} L: they may not be fruitles; but that I may have a seasonable and satisfactory answere.

* * * * *

Yo^{r} good L: humblest and devoted servante,

W. TRUMBULL.

It appears by the following inclosure that Rubens was the artist selected, as early as August, 1621, to paint the decorations for the New Banqueting House at Whitehall, although the Building was not finished until March 31st, 1622—the first stone having been laid on 1st of June, 1619.[86]

[*Inclosure.*]

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A, No. IV.]

LIV. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO W. TRUMBULL.

Antwerp, September $\frac{3}{13}$, 1621.

SIR:

I AM quite willing that the Picture painted for my Lord Am-

[86] P. Cunningham's Life of Inigo Jones, pp. 12, 13.

"The Twelfth day of this instant, January, 1618-19, the greate Banquetting howse at Whitehall was by casualty of fire quite burnt to the ground;" and on the same day, "Warrants were issued to the Keeper of the Gatehouse to receive into his custody and close keeping the persons of Richard Gore and David Simpson, Laborers, being suspected to have sett on fyer his Ma^{ties} howse of Whitehall."—Council Register, Jac. I, vol. iv, pp. 73, 74. See also Gerbier's Letter to King Charles I, dated 1 Aug. 1634.

bassador Carleton be returned to me and that I should paint another Hunting piece less terrible than that of the Lions, making abatement as is reasonable for the amount already paid, and the new picture to be entirely of my own hand without admixture of the work of any one else, which I will undertake to you on the word of a gentleman. I am very sorry that there should have been any dissatisfaction on the part of Mons. Carleton, but he would never let me understand clearly, though I often entreated him to do so, whether this picture was to be an entire Original or merely one touched by my own hand. I wish for an opportunity to put him in a good humour with me, although it should cost me some trouble to oblige him. I shall be very glad that this picture be located in a place so eminent as the Gallery of H. R. H. The Prince of Wales, and I will do everything in my power to make it superior in design to that of Holofernes, which I executed in my youth. I have almost finished a large picture entirely by my own hand, and in my opinion one of my best, representing a Hunt of Lions: the figures as large as life. It is an order of My Lord Ambassador Digby [87] to be presented, as I am given to understand

[87] John Digby was born at Coleshill, Warwickshire, in 1580. He studied at Magdalen College, Oxford, and afterwards travelled. On his return to England he was appointed Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King James I, by whom he was knighted; sent Ambassador to Spain in 1617-18, and created Baron Digby of Sherborne, county Dorset, on 25 Nov., 1618. He was again sent Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain in July, 1620, with a grant of £13,000 (Orig. Docket., 22nd Aug., 1620) towards defraying his expenses;—to Vienna and Brussels in 1620-1, to adjust the affairs of the Palatinate; when Count Mansfeldt's army, upon whom depended the fortune of the Palatinate, was like to disband for want of money, he pawned all his plate and jewels to buoy up that sinking cause. He returned to London on Allhallows Eve (31 Oct.), 1621;—was sent a third time to Spain, as Ambassador Extraordinary, with Sir Walter Aston, to conclude the marriage treaty between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain; created Earl of Bristol 15th Sept.,1622, but recalled in 1624, when he received the following letter from Secretary Conway, dated Whytehall, 24 April, 1624:—"Right Honourable,—I have received His Majesty's commandment to signify his pleasure and commandment to your Lordship that you come not to courte nor to his presence before His Majesty's further plesure and leave first obtained and signifyed to you, in countermand of this, but that you retyer yourselfe to your house or lodgeing, and remayne there untell His Majesty's further plesure and directions shall be made knowen to you. This being that which I have in charge, I humbly commit, &c., Ed. Conway." He was subsequently committed to the Tower, charged by the Duke of Buckingham with improper conduct while in Spain. On Charles I's accession, Buckingham and Digby preferred accusations of high treason against each other; the latter was, however, disgraced by the king, to whom he applied, in January, 1625-6, to be restored to favor, which was denied, as appears by the following letter from Charles I, dated 21 January, 1625-6, the words in Italics being corrections and insertions in the king's own hand: "We have read yo^{r} Letter addrest to us by Buckingham, and wee cannot but wonder that you should, through forgetfullness, make such a request to us of favour, as if you stood evenly

to the Marquis of Hamilton. But as you truly say such subjects are more agreeable and have more vehemence in a large than in a small picture. I should very much like the Picture for H. R. H. The Prince of Wales to be of the largest proportions, because the size of the picture gives us painters more courage to represent our ideas with the utmost freedom and semblance of reality. I am ready under any circumstances to employ myself in your service, and recommending myself humbly to your favor, offer myself at all times to your notice.

As to His Majesty and H. R. H. The Prince of Wales, I shall always be very pleased to receive the honor of their commands, and with respect to the *Hall in the New Palace,* I confess myself to be, by a natural instinct, better fitted to execute works of the largest size rather than little curiosities. Every one according to his gifts. My endowments are of such a nature that I have never wanted courage to undertake any design however vast in size or diversified in subject. Sir,

Your very humble servant,
PETER PAUL RUBENS.

LV. W. TRUMBULL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Postscript.*)

Brussels, December, $\frac{1}{11}$, 1621.

I HAVE sufficient order from my L: Davers to conclude w^th^ Rubens, about his picture, w^ch^ I will doe as soone as I have leisure.

capable of it, when you knowe what your behaviour in Spaine deserved of us, which you are to examine by the observations wee made, and knowe you will remember, how at o^r^ first coming into Spaine taking upon you to bee soe wise as to foresee our intentions to change our religion you *were so far from disswading us that you* offered your service and secrecy to concurre in it, *and in manie other open conferences pressing to show how convenient it was for us to be a Roman Catholicke, being impossible in your opinion to doe anie greate actions otherwais.* How much wrong, disadvantage, and disservice you did to the Treatie and to the right and interest of our deare Brother and Sister and theire children; what disadvantage, inconvenience, and hazard you intangled us in by your Artifices, putting off and delaying *our returne* home. The greate estimation you made of that State, and the vile price you sett this kingdom, *still maintaining that we under cullor of frendship to Spaine did what was in our power against them, which you said they knew verie well. And last of all your approuving of those conditions that our nephew should be brought up in the Emperor's Court, to which S^r^ Wa. Aston then said he durst not give his consent to for feare of his hed you replying to him that without som such great action nether Mariag nor peace could be had.*" He, nevertheless, zealously defended the Royal cause during the Rebellion, for which he lost his estate, and died in exile, at Paris, in 1653, aged 73.

LVI. LORD DANVERS TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

St. James', December, 7, 1621.

My Lo:

I have pursued the course prescribed w^th^ Mr. Trumball and Ruben, although after all the care you have taken to yeald me satisfaction, I suspect my monye will be more wourth then his wourke, commonly wrought w^th^ a very careles hand, but we must showte on arrow after an other.

* * * * *

Y^r^ Lo: most well wishinge and littell able to doe you servis,

H. Dāvers.

LVI*. T. LOCKE TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Right Hono^ble^: 15 *December*, 1621.

* * * * *

My Lo: Dāvers hath sent the picture w^ch^ yo^r^ L^p^ sent from Reuben hither to me to be sent backe & will have his olde one againe & the £25 that he hath received shall goe for another that Reuben must make him; I thincke my Lo: Dāvers hath alreadie acquainted y^r^ L^p^ w^th^ his intent. I have heere a lr̃e to Reuben & the Picture w^ch^ I do not well knowe how to send yet.

* * * * *

Yo^r^ L^ps^ humble servant,

Th: Locke.

LVII. W. TRUMBULL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, December $\frac{21}{31}$, 1621.

My singuler goode Lord:

* * * * *

My L: Dāvers hath given me order (as formerly I wrote) to bespeake a piece of paintinge of Rubens, his owne hand; and I have already perfourmed that commission, and received a courteous answere. But I feare myne owne creditt will not be sufficient to accomplish that businesse.

* * * * *

Yo^r^ L^ps^ most humble and affection^te^ servante,

W. Trumbull.

From John Wolley's letter [*ante*, p. 50], it appears that Rubens

was at Antwerp the end of January, 1620; and from Toby Matthew's letter [*ante*, p. 52], that he was also there in November 1620. The *Accommodement* between the Queen Mother of France and her son Louis XIII., managed by the afterwards celebrated Cardinal Richelieu, was signed at Brissac on the 16th August, 1620. It is therefore most probable that Rubens went to Paris about September, 1620,[89] to paint, by Royal command, the Twenty-one Pictures for the Grand Gallery of the Palace of the Luxembourg,[90] which were to represent the Principal Events of the Life of Marie de Medicis.[91] He made spirited sketches of each subject, which he gave to his pupils to work from under his constant superintendence, by which means this prodigious work was completed in less than two years,[92] although from the previous correspondence it is evident that Rubens was also engaged upon other pictures. Nineteen were painted at Antwerp in his own studio, the two largest on his return to Paris, where he finished the portraits of several of the principal characters, and superintended

[89] Michiels, "Rubens et l'Ecole d'Anvers," p. 143, says, in the *beginning* of 1620.

[90] Marie de Medicis caused this superb edifice to be built in 1615. The famous Jacques de Brosse was the principal architect.

[91] In these magnificent productions the artist, freely indulging in the poet's and the painter's licence, has richly embellished each subject with allegorical figures and fabulous deities, enhancing the luxuriance of his creative powers in composition with the lustre of his resplendent colouring. They now adorn the Louvre, and are as follows:

1. The Destiny of Marie de Medicis.
2. The Birth of the Queen.
3. The Education of the Queen.
4. Henry IV deliberating upon marriage.
5. The Marriage of the Queen.
6. The Debarkation.
7. The Marriage of Henry IV with Marie de Medicis.
8. The Birth of Louis XIII.
9. The Departure of Henry IV for the Wars in Germany.
10. The Coronation of the Queen.
11. The Apotheosis of Henry IV.
12. The Government of the Queen.
13. The Journey of the Queen to the Bridge of Cé.
14. The Exchange of the Two Queens.
15. The Happiness and Prosperity of the Regency.
16. The Majority of Louis XIII.
17. The Flight of the Queen to Blois.
18. The Queen deciding in favour of Peace.
19. Peace Concluded.
20. Peace Ratified in Heaven.
21. Time Disclosing Truth.

Smith's Cat. Raison., ii. pp. 120-1.

Mons^r Nattier, one of the Members of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture at Paris, undertook to engrave these pictures; but before his death he committed the charge of making the drawings to his two sons, who were still young. They were subsequently published under the title of "La Gallerie du Palais du Luxembourg, peinte par Rubens; dessinée par les Sieurs Nattier, et gravée par les plus illustres Graveurs du temps. À Paris, 1710. Dediée au Roy," folio.

[92] Smith's Cat. Raison. vol. ii. p. xxviii., who also says that, at this period, he had as assistants or pupils, Van Dyck, Justus Van Egmont, Jacques Jordaens, Peter Van Mol, Cornelius Schut, Jan Van Hoeck, Simon de Vos, Deodato Delmont, Nicholas vander Horst, Franck Snyders, Mompers, and Wildens.

placing them in the Palace of the Luxembourg. While thus engaged, the Queen, who took a particular pleasure in his conversation, frequently honoured him with visits. She was so delighted with these extraordinary works of art that she requested Rubens to paint Four portraits, viz :—A Full Length of herself as Pallas; Francis I, De Medicis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, her Father; Jane of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, her Mother; and his own for Her Majesty's Cabinet. When the whole series was finished, Rubens had the honour to conduct the Queen, attended by many distinguished persons, through the Gallery, and to explain the meaning of the numerous allegories. A few days after he had an audience of Her Majesty, who gave him many splendid presents, and he quitted Paris on the $\frac{9}{19}$ September, 1622.[93]

LVIII. W. TRUMBULL TO [SIR D. CARLETON.] (*Postscript.*)

Brussels, $\frac{\text{Feb. } 19}{\text{Mar. } 1}$, 1622-3.

My Lord Dāvers desyreing nowe to have his Creation of Bassan° againe; because Rubens hath mended it very well; doth by a lr̃e commande me to treate wth him, for his owne Pourtrait, to be placed in the Princes Gallery.

Rubens became acquainted with the Duke of Buckingham, in April, 1625, and painted his portrait during his residence in Paris in that year. It was not until September, 1625, when the Duke was sent by King Charles I, in conjunction with the Earl of Carlisle and Sir Dudley Carleton, to negotiate a peace with the United Provinces, that the Duke saw at Antwerp

[93] Smith's Cat. Raison., vol. ii. p. xxx.; Michel, p. 125: but at p. 143, Michel says, while Rubens was at Paris painting and placing the pictures for Marie de Medicis, he met the Duke of Buckingham, who was then at the French court to celebrate the nuptials of Henrietta Maria with Charles I; and Mrs. Jameson, in Waagen's P. P. Rubens, p. 24, says, Rubens was enabled to have the pictures placed in a gallery of the Luxembourg Palace, erected for the purpose, so early as the month of March, 1625. This date is no doubt correct, because on the 13th May, 1625, Rubens writes from Paris to M. Peiresc (see Lettres inédites, par Em. Gachet, p. 13), complaining of the delay in satisfying his *honoraires* (for the gallery already placed), which he says is because of the approaching marriage of Henrietta Maria with Charles I. "In fact," he writes, "I am tired of this court, and if I am not satisfied with the same punctuality that I have served the Queen Mother, it may perhaps come to pass that I shall not easily revisit it (this is between ourselves), although to speak the truth, I cannot complain at present, since the delay has been legitimate and very excusable." He arrived at Brussels on the 11th June, and writes from Antwerp on the day following.—See Em. Gachet, p. 14.

the splendid Collection belonging to Rubens of Antiques, Gems, Pictures, &c., which Descamps says was more like that belonging to a prince than to a private gentleman. The Duke was most anxious to possess it, begged Rubens to let him have the whole, or at least a portion of the Collection, and subsequently sent Michel le Blond, a man of taste, with 100,000 florins[94] to induce him to part with it. After repeated persuasions he did so, but with great regret, and on condition that the purchaser should, at his own expense, leave casts of all the finest Statues, Busts, and Bas-reliefs. These were to take the place of the originals, and Rubens also replaced the pictures by others, so that in a few years he formed a new Cabinet.[95] Le Blond sent the greater part of this magnificent collection into England.[96]

[94] Descamps (tom. i. p. 302) says 60,000 florins; but M. Mols, in a MS. Note, says the sum was 100,000 florins, according to a MS. Life of Rubens, written by Philippe Rubens, his nephew (and not by Gevaerts), which is still at the house of the Canon Van Parys, a descendant of Rubens through the female branch.

[95] Michel (p. 145), who says (p. 144) that the Duke proposed to Rubens, *by letter*, to sell his cabinet, and sent the Sieur *Blondel*, a great connoisseur of the Fine Arts, who, after examining this rich collection, made Rubens an offer of 100,000 florins for it. Smith (p. xxxi) says *Blondel*—whose portrait is painted by Van Dyck—took an inventory of every article, and gave the Duke of Buckingham his opinion of the value. An offer of 100,000 florins was made for the whole collection, which was accepted, and it was sent to England in 1625. See note 109, p. 70; also p. 103. Gerbier says, "The pictures of my Lord Duke are quite ready; it would be the best for Mons^r. *Le Blon* to give the commission," &c. See also Gerbier's letter to the Earl of Arundel in Appendix B.

[96] In this collection Smith says there were 19 pictures by Titian; 21 by Bassan (Giacomo da Ponte, commonly called Il Bassano; see *ante*, p. 52, note 82); 13 by Paul Veronese; 8 by Palma; 17 by Tintoretto; 3 by Leonardo da Vinci; 3 by Raffaelle; and 13 by Rubens. Previous to the sequestration of the Buckingham estate, in 1649, a great part of this collection was sent to Antwerp for sale, and was purchased by the Archduke Leopold for his collection at Prague. They are now in the Belvidere Gallery at Vienna.

In a "Catalogue of the curious Collection of Pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in which is included the valuable collection of Sir Peter Paul Rubens: written by Brian Fairfax" [4to. London, 1758], the above 13 pictures by Rubens, as also the models which belonged to him, are thus described:—

Pictures.	Length. ft.	in.	Breadth. ft.	in.
1. A Large Piece, being a Landscape full of figures, horses, and carts	5	0	7	7
2. The Picture of the Queen Regent of France sitting under a canopy	1	9	2	0
3. A Piece representing Winter, wherein there are nine figures	4	0	7	0
4. Another large piece wherein are several gods and goddesses of the woods and little Bacchi	5	4	7	6
5. Another large piece of Cymon and Iphigenia. There being in this picture three naked women and a man in a Landscape	7	6	10	9
6. A Fish-market wherein our Saviour and several other large figures are painted	9		13	9

While Rubens was at the height of his ambition, respected and honoured by the most powerful in Europe, he was thrown into the greatest affliction by the death of his wife, which took place about June, 1626,[97] after having been married nearly seventeen years. She left him two sons, Albert Rubens, who was afterwards Secretary of the Privy Council, and Nicholas Rubens, Seigneur de Ramyen,[98] &c., and was interred with great magnificence in the same tomb with his mother and his eldest brother Philip, in the church of the Abbey of St. Michæl, where Rubens

*

	Length. ft. in.	Breadth. ft. in.
7. A Wild boar hunt, wherein several huntsmen on foot and on horseback are represented	5 6	6 0
8. Medusa's head	2 6	4 0
9. A naked Woman with an hermit	1 0	2 6
10. The Duchess of Brabant with her Lover	3 0	2 9
11. The 3 Graces with fruit	3 0	2 6
[N.B.—Sir Jas. Thornhill bought this Picture at Paris, which was sold here after his death.]		
12. The Evening in a small Landscape	2 0	2 0
13. The head of an old Woman	1 8	1 4

Models.

1. Henry IV, King of France, with a Pedestal, a Model in metal.
2. The model of the Horse in metal which is on the new bridge at Paris.
3. A Lion and a Horse in metal, being the models of those which are in the Capitol at Rome.
4. A Model in metal of the Bull which is in the Farnesian Palace at Rome.
5. A model of the Sabine which is in the great Palace at Florence.
6. A Centaur in metal, being the model of that at Florence.
7. A Venus and a Satyr in metal.
8. Cain and Abel in marble by John of Bologna, now in York House Garden or at Chelsea.
9. Two small figures in metal by John of Bologna.
10. The figure of a woman in metal.
11. A Venus and a Cupid in ivory.
12. The figure of a woman, her head, hands, and feet being in ivory and the drapery in metal.
13. The 3 Graces in ivory.
14. St. Peter in chains, in alabaster.
15. Twelve boxes of agates and other precious stones, chased in gold and all antiques.

[N.B.—These cases of Agates and other stones are particularly expressed in the English inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's collection, anno 1635.]

[97] On the $\frac{5}{15}$ July, 1626, Rubens writes to Dupuy :—"In truth I have lost an excellent companion; one might, what do I say, one really ought to cherish her memory, for she had none of the defects of her sex," &c. &c.

[98] Rubens entrusted the education of these two sons to his intimate friend the Doctor Gevaerts, Secretary of the City of Antwerp, of whom he makes mention in his letter of 31st July, 1630, p. 151; see also note 165, p. 129.

raised a monument to her memory with the following inscription written by himself:

Matri Virgini
Hanc tabulam a se pictam
pio affectu ad optimæ matris
Sepulchrum
commune cum Isabella Brant
Uxore sua
Dicat P. P. Rubens
L.M.D.
ipso die Michælis Archangeli
Anno 1626.[99]

After this sad event he resolved to travel in Holland, and visit his old companion at Rome, Cornelius Poelenburg,[100] who lived at Utrecht. At Gouda Joachim Sandrart came to meet him and offered to accompany Rubens in his travels. They went to Utrecht together, and visited Gerard Honthorst,[101] who had just then made a sketch of Diogenes searching by daylight, in the Forum at Athens, with a lanthorn, for an honest man. Rubens purchased the sketch, and Honthorst finished it by representing himself as the cynic philosopher, and Rubens as the object of his search. With this incident commenced a very lasting friendship between them.[102] He continued his journey to the Hague, visiting every artist in his way, and leaving with each some proof of his love for the arts.

On his return to Brussels the Infanta Isabella, who since the death of her husband the Archduke Albert, in July, 1621,[103] had

[99] "To the Virgin Mother. This picture, painted by himself, with pious affection, at the sepulchre common to the best of mothers, and to Isabella Brant, his wife, P. P. Rubens dedicated as a memorial on Michaelmas Day, A. D., 1626."

[100] Poelenburg has commemorated this event by painting the portraits of himself in conversation with his friend Rubens; they are represented standing together in the foreground of a landscape.—Smith's Cat. Raisonné, vol. ii. p. xxxiv.

Cornelius Poelenburg was born at Utrecht in 1586, and began painting under Abraham Bloemaert, whom he left to travel in Italy, where he studied the great masters. On his return to Utrecht he passed through Florence, where the Grand Duke wished to retain him; but after painting several pictures for him he returned home honoured by the esteem of the Italians. Rubens greatly admired, and purchased, several of his pictures for his own cabinet. Charles I. sent for him to his Court, commissioned him to paint several pictures, and wished to attach him to his service, but he preferred returning to his own country. He died at Utrecht in 1660, aged seventy-four. He was perhaps, the most laborious painter of his time. His finest work is considered to be the Birth of Our Saviour, in the cabinet of M. Grenier, at Middelburgh.—Descamps, tom. i. pp. 365, *et seq.*

[101] See Appendix B.

[102] Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, &c., vol. ii. p. 261.

[103] Trumbull writes on 24 Aug. 1621, "The funeralls for the Archd: corps, are

found the advice of Rubens more necessary than ever, employed him in negotiating for a General Suspension of Arms between the Kings of Great Britain, Denmark, Spain, and the States General of the United Provinces. Balthazar Gerbier[104] was employed by the Duke of Buckingham, on the part of England, to negotiate with Rubens. The correspondence which follows gives a very full and interesting account of this Negotiation.[105]

[*Translated from the French.*]

LIX. [106] DISCOURSES HELD BETWEEN THE SIEUR RUBENS AND GERBIER SINCE THE YEAR 1625, UPON A TREATY PROPOSED BETWEEN THEM.[107]

The Duke of Buckingham being at Paris in April, 1625, the Sieur Rubens painted his portrait there,[107a] and on that occasion had communication with and made proposals to Gerbier; the Sieur Rubens saying after the return of the Prince, that the Infanta

ordayned, but not to be perfourmed these 2 monethes, unlesse orders out of Spaine, did change their purpose;" also on 6 Nov. 1621, "Here are greate preparations makeinge for the Archdukes funeralls: and in them the Infanta doth not spare any coste.

[104] Agent of Charles I. at the Hague, who was at that time in the service of the English Monarch as painter and architect.—Waagen's P. P. Rubens, by Mrs. Jameson, p. 29; see also Appendix F.

[105] Alfred Michiels in "Rubens et l'école d'Anvers," pp. 159, 160, says, the Infanta having charged Rubens with a diplomatic transaction, it was necessary that he should have a conference with the Ambassador of Great Britain at the Hague, the Sieur Balthazar Gerbier, who met him at Delft on 21 July, 1627.—Lord Carleton was, however, the Ambassador at the Hague, and in his letter to Secretary Lord Conway, dated 15th July, 1627 (see p. 92) he says, the Abbé de Scaglia did on Friday last, 11 July (21 July, new style) meet Rubens, but that he had not himself spoken with Rubens. Gerbier was Master of the Horse to and employed by the Duke of Buckingham.

[106] The greater part of the following correspondence is written by Gerbier in his own peculiar French, and the sentences are so interwoven that I have found them somewhat difficult to translate; I have, however, adhered to the originals in the most literal manner.

[107] W. Trumbull writes from Brussels, $\frac{3}{13}$ Oct., 1624, to Secretary Conway:—

"I will begin wth a secreet treaty for a peace, or a truce; managed by Petro Paulo Rubens, the famous painter; betwene the United Provinces, and those that are nowe under the Kinge of Spaine's obedience. An argument (in my poore opinyon) although they make themselves suer of Breda, and esteeme it as good as taken already that they are weary of the warres and would be content to suspende their armes." Also that, "the Marq. Spinola is determinately resolved, either to winne Breda, or in the trenches before it, to bury his corps and his honor."

[107a] In Sir Sackvile Crowe's Book of Accompts of the Receipts and Disbursements from the Privy Purse of the Duke of Buckingham, 1622-1627, the following is among the entries of the year 1625:—"Given to Mr. Rubens for drawing his L^{ps} picture on horseback, 500*l.*"

Isabella Clara Eugenia and the Marquis Spinola had a lively sense of the wrong done to the Prince during his stay in Spain, in not having received his Mistress the third day after his arrival at Madrid, which eagerness, the Infanta was of opinion, ought to have been exhibited, seeing the Prince had so honoured the House of Austria, and acted so generously and so like a cavalier. Upon which considerations the Sieur Rubens made it known that he apprehended great difficulties might arise between the Crowns of Spain and Great Britain. That, nevertheless, every honest man should do all in his power to cherish a continuation of the good understanding which had subsisted between them until then; and since war was a scourge from Heaven, we should do our best to avoid it. These speeches were accompanied with protestations and wishes that the Duke might be induced, as he had the power, to pacify the King my Master, who is no doubt very much incensed. Gerbier replied, it was evident God had made known to the King of Great Britain that He made the Lilies to unite with the Roses, that in the joy of this union every unfruitful pretension that he had had in his voyage to Madrid should be buried in oblivion, except that which affected the particular interests of his very dear sister the Queen of Bohemia, whose wrongs needed a cure to which the Duke was obliged to contribute as much as lay in his power.

The Sieur Rubens had perceived in the Duke's conversation a laudable zeal for the interests of Christianity. After his departure from France and the rupture between Spain and England, he frequently wrote to Gerbier, greatly deploring the present state of affairs, wishing to revive the Golden Age, and conjuring Gerbier to make the Duke of Buckingham understand the Infanta's great regret that affairs were in their present state. He protested that Her Highness ought not to suffer, because she desired nothing more than a good understanding, which she thought very reasonable, as she had neither been a party to the disputants nor contributed to their discontent. That if the King of Great Britain had a design to claim the restitution of the Palatinate, it was to the Emperor he should apply, and to the King of Spain, supposing he had the power; but that, at least, the good understanding which had hitherto existed between England and the Infanta should be preserved, and put upon a proper footing, for there were no points in dispute between them.

The Sieur Rubens enlarged upon this subject, saying how

praiseworthy and advantageous this work of reconciliation would be. That he believed it easy of accomplishment, provided the King of Great Britain would lend a favourable ear and the Duke was well disposed, so that his assistance might be relied upon. Then Rubens dwelt strongly upon Spain being willing to listen to reasonable conditions, and begged Gerbier to say so to the Duke of Buckingham, who ordered Gerbier to reply to Rubens, that he would never lose any opportunity which might be of service to the cause of Christianity, to which he would contribute all that lay in his power; that if Spain had a real and charitable design, he would meet it with open arms, on condition that the King of Bohemia was taken into consideration. This answer (according to what Rubens wrote) was sent to Spain, from whence they expected good news. Some weeks after, the Sieur Rubens wrote, that he had received orders from Spain to keep up this correspondence with Gerbier, and that in a short time the Infanta would have more ample explanations and instructions.

Soon after, when the English Fleet retreated from Cadiz,[108] the Sieur Rubens wrote that, changes having taken place in the general aspect of affairs, Spain had come to somewhat different resolutions, and was bent upon adjusting things as they stood at present, which more clearly appeared by the change in the affairs of Denmark, and afterwards by the impression which was made by England raising an armament for the Fleet; which, nevertheless, was destined against France and not against Spain, but at which Spain was so jealous, that the taking of Groll happily for the States General succeeded. The Marquis Spinola having kept his forces upon the coast of Flanders, fearing the army of England intended an invasion, the Sieur Rubens retraced his first overtures, and wrote to know whether it were the intention of England to treat, that the Infanta and the Marquis were doing their utmost to procure full powers from Spain; upon which Gerbier received orders to reply.

The following is a copy given into Rubens' own hands, Gerbier having gone to Antwerp to see him about the purchase of statues, medals, and pictures, which the Duke was making from Rubens.[109]

[108] The English Fleet retreated from Cadiz the end of October, 1625.

[109] It would seem, therefore, that, although the Duke of Buckingham was, in 1625, so anxious to possess Rubens' Collection, in February 1627 the purchase was not completed, and a letter will be found dated 8th September, 1627 (p. 103) in the postscript of which Rubens says, "The pictures of my Lord Duke are quite ready," and wishes

[*Translated from the French, which is indorsed "Copy of the Writing which I gave to Mons. Rubens."*]

LX. BALTHAZAR GERBIER TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

Brussels, February $\frac{13}{23}$, 1626-7.

Monsieur Rubens:

My Lord the Duke of Buckingham has commanded me to inform you, with respect to the Discourses we have held, that if it pleases the Infanta to obtain full powers from the King of Spain, to treat in his name and on his behalf with the King of Great Britain for a general Suspension of Arms (withdrawing the armies) between the King of Spain, the King of Great Britain, the King of Denmark, and the States General of the United Provinces, that he will do his utmost to carry into effect the resolutions and wishes of the several parties for the said Suspension of Arms for two, three, four, five, six, or seven years, restoring commerce to its original footing as in times of peace, during which time an accommodation may be treated for.

B. Gerbier.

Nota. This writing is the first that was given, then follows that which was sent at the time of the armament for the Isle of Rhé; but first I will write down the answer from the Infanta to the above letter of $\frac{13}{23}$ February, 1627.

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A, No. V.]

LXI. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Her Highness has seen the Proposition of my Lord the Duke of Buckingham, and says as to the differences between the Emperor and the King of Denmark, that some time has elapsed since Her Highness was engaged in trying to bring them to an understanding, and that Her Highness will do all in her power to

Monsieur Le Blond to send over for them. See also the end of a letter from Rubens to Gerbier of $\frac{9}{19}$ May, 1627 (p. 84), and *ante*, p. 65. On $\frac{15}{25}$ August, 1640, Gerbier writes from Brussels to Sec. Sir H. Vane:—Touching the moneys due by these townes unto the Crowne of England and the measures taken for obtaining payment—"That the case had many yeares since bin resolved on and even when the late Duke of Buckingham had bought a greate deale of S^{r} Peter Rubens rarieties his designe was to gett an assignment on part of that debt w^{ch} S^{r} Peter Rubens made difficulty to accept."

complete it; but as success is uncertain, Her Highness who might even meet with difficulties with the States of the United Provinces, would like the Duke of Buckingham to declare whether the King of Great Britain would treat in this case, with reference only to these Crowns, in order that Her Highness being informed, might also represent it to His Catholic Majesty, when, the answer received, the Duke should be advertised thereof, who making it convenient for the Sieur Gerbier to return to England, would report the determination by him.

RUBENS.

At the same time the Marquis Spinola authorises the Sieur Rubens by a letter which the Marquis writes to Gerbier. The following is the tenor:—

LXII. COPY OF A LETTER FROM MONS. THE MARQUIS TO GERBIER.

Brussels, February $\frac{14}{24}$, 1626-7.

MONSIEUR:

THE Sieur Rubens having communicated to me the letters which you carried to him from the Duke of Buckingham, I have thought it fit to tell you that you may continue to treat with the said Rubens in the business which you have in charge, and thus I pray God, Sir, to keep you in His protection.

Your very affectionate to serve you,

AMBROSIO SPINOLA.

[*Translated from the French.*]

[*Indorsed.*]

Memoranda of the Considerations of Rubens by order of Her Highness.

LXIII. MEMORANDUM OF THE DISCOURSE HELD BY THE SIGNOR RUBENS UPON THE PROPOSITION THAT GERBIER MADE ON BEHALF OF MY LORD THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

THAT since Her Highness the Infanta, as also the Marquis, were well disposed to the projected business, it would be necessary to guard against embroiling it with other undertakings, which would only give umbrage and cause jealousy in Her Highness, and

as though we suspected either her sincere intentions or sufficiency to bring it to a good end, her means being the most royal the most certain and the most sure; as aunt of the King,[110] Governor of the Netherlands, and held in very great esteem and authority by the King her Nephew; besides the dignity and quality of my Lord the Marquis, who is the greatest Minister that His Majesty has out of Spain. These are the reasons why the door must be closed to all other overtures. Everyone must be well assured of the good affection of Her Highness by her goodness, her natural piety, and the great desire that she has shown under all circumstances, to procure the public good of Christianity. Besides which she believes that it is for the service of the King her nephew and for her own particular interest that she should be very pleased to be rid of envy and the labours of war, and end her days in peace and tranquillity. Everyone must also believe that my Lord the Marquis desires nothing so much as to conclude his battles with his past victories; and not leave his present reputation to fortune; but to live in repose during the rest of his life, and be delivered from the continual solicitude of war.

The return of the paper, in answer to what was proposed, is truly founded in a sincere affection and very good intention of Her Highness and of my Lord the Marquis towards the good success of the business, which depends upon the same advice of the Duke of Buckingham being prompt and quickly expedited. For presuming that the proposition, such as it is, was now in Spain, that the King had accepted and taken the business to heart, and had the supposed power (which is in no ways true) to dispose of the affairs of Germany; then it would be necessary that it should be conformable to what is suitable and necessary for that country.

And as to sending Ambassadors from the Emperor, to the Duke of Bavaria, as chief of the Catholic League, who, according to the dilatory character of the Germans, would be greatly delayed, inasmuch as the goings and comings, the Councils and the Assemblies, would consume the time, and we should miss the opportunity of properly doing the principal business.

It is very necessary England should be disabused of the idea that the King of Spain can absolutely control the affairs of Germany; for it is very certain the Emperor's army is paid with the

[110] The Infanta Isabella was the half-sister of Philip III, and aunt of Philip IV, King of Spain, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry IV, and sister of Queen Henrietta Maria of England.

money of the Catholic League, and that the King does not contribute to the pay of a single company, the Duke of Bavaria being General of this army, who it is well known is not a favourite with the King of Spain, who, through his Ambassador, the Count d'Onate, very openly opposed and protested against conferring the Electorate upon the said Duke; besides the old and present jealousies between the Houses of Austria and Bavaria. It is easy to account for their present misunderstanding, through the published accounts in France, which represent the Duke of Bavaria very dissatisfied, because he has not been entrusted with the whole of the Inferior Palatinate, as Superior. It is also to be considered that the Emperor does not always give way to the good pleasure of the King, and that when he does he has his hands tied by the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, so that he is able to do little by himself. The Empire governs more than the Emperor in person. Neither are we assured, if the Germans were inclined to this accommodation, whether the King of Spain would undertake a business so long, harassing, and painful, which either through impossibility, or, at all events, through length of time, would spoil the design and render the proposition fruitless. If the King of Spain had concluded a peace, truce, or suspension of arms, he would have more authority to induce or constrain the Germans to agree to this accommodation.

It seems also that, leaving out of the treaty the cause of Denmark, in which is hidden that of the King of Bohemia, the King of Great Britain has returned his obligation to his allies by being able freely to assist all their forces, without any hindrance from others; and it would be like confessing a weakness to refuse this condition, and as though England distrusted those forces if she succoured them for so short a time previous to the treaty, which it is proposed to begin immediately after the peace between the Crowns and Holland. In the meantime, the King of Denmark, with the assistance of his allies, will be able to hold out easily by keeping on the defensive.

Touching the Confederate States, every one cannot but think there will be very great difficulties with respect to the title of Free States, which they pretend to be applied to them in the truce; but which title is so contrary and repugnant, that he (the King of Spain) wages war for no other reason. For if he had chosen to consent to this title, the Dutch would never have made, nor would they at present make, any difficulty in continuing or in

renewing the truce as before, as Rubens testifies, who has been employed in this business. This is why it must be well considered what difference the suspension of arms or the truce will make; for a suspension of arms lasts ordinarily for a short time and does not in any way change the aspect of war, neither should it make any mention of this Title, which is not valid in time of war. But if it is presumed that because this suspension of arms between the King and the Confederate States should be prolonged some years, it would be transformed into, and be considered in the light of a truce, and consequently would confer this title, which the Dutch pretend to be attached to the truce; then would the labour in this business be all in vain; the King of Spain would never consent to, or receive it in this light, it being against reason, that, by prolonging the time, the nature or meaning of a suspension of arms can be altered.

But, leaving the Dutch to insinuate this title during the suspension of arms, the King of Spain would perhaps be found willing to treat subsequently with them for a lasting peace, under honorable conditions to His Majesty and without prejudice to their liberties.

And, in such case, it is believed the States would not make any great difficulty about the title of Free States, according to what has passed in some overtures upon that subject.

It is certain that it would be thoroughly appreciated in Spain and by her Serene Highness, if the King of Great Britain would interpose his authority and good-will to this accommodation, and by this means would greatly oblige the King of Spain to make reciprocal efforts to adjust the affairs of Germany, as King James obliged himself to do, by express articles in the peace of 1602,[111] and thus perform his promise from the time the truce was agreed upon between the King of Spain and the Confederate States. But as concerning the peace between these two Crowns there need be no great difficulties, and it is believed it may be as easy as the suspension of arms of the year 1604,[112] which was so well understood

[111] There is a mistake in the year; the peace alluded to was between Philip III, King of Spain, the Archduke Albert, and the Infanta Isabella on the one part, and King James I on the other, signed $\frac{18}{28}$ August, 1604.—Récueil des Traités de Paix, &c., tom. iii. p. 9, fol. ed. 1700.

[112] This should be 1609. A truce for twelve years between Philip III, the Archduke Albert, and the Infanta Isabella on the one part, and the States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands on the other part, through the mediation of the Kings of England and France, was signed at Antwerp on $\frac{30\ March}{9\ April}$, 1609.—Récueil des Traités de Paix, &c., tom iii. p. 43.

and so clear in all these points, particularly as regards commerce and the Confederate States, that there is nothing to alter but names and some few points of no importance, which do not affect the substance of the peace. It must be borne in mind what was said at the commencement, that no time should be lost, and that all other matters and overtures foreign to this treaty should be set aside, as too many cooks spoil the broth, and as it is certain the Infanta and the Marquis are very favourable, it will be better to rely solely on their authority.

As touching Savoy, it is very certain the Infanta is very much inclined to facilitate an accommodation with the King, as much on account of her great affection towards her children and her only sister,[113] as on other considerations; but an Ambassador [from the Grand Duke] will never be received or heard on behalf of a treaty for others, before his own differences are adjusted, in which (it is believed) there will be more doubt and difficulty than in all that concerns the two Crowns.

[*Translated from the Original Draft in French, written by Gerbier and corrected by Lord Carleton.*]

LXIV. B. GERBIER TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

Sir: *March* 9, 1626-7.

The King having returned last evening from hunting, I write to you to-day by the ordinary, to inform you of the answer which the Duke of Buckingham has thought proper to make to the Memorandum I brought to him from you. By the promptitude of the despatch you will see the desire there is on this side not to lose time, and from the resolution you will be able to judge how deliberately and solidly it is proceeded with, His Majesty's absence being the principal cause of the delay; I will add, as you will find noticed in the papers here inclosed, that two things have been remarked which you recommend as very à propos. The first, that the business be treated secretly; the second, that the door be shut to all other overtures. As touching the first, the Duke has not thought proper to send me back at present, because people begin to look suspiciously at me, and sundry reports have already been

[113] Catharine, daughter of Philip II, King of Spain, who married Charles Emmanuel, Grand Duke of Savoy.

spread respecting my last voyage. When it is seen that I do not return, these reports, even while the business is progressing, will subside. And while you on your side are sending into Spain for the necessary powers, a lord whom you know very well, and whose name you mentioned to me, will be despatched from hence into Holland upon other business, so that he may be on the spot when opportunity offers to perform the necessary offices, which will serve to show you how willing we are on our part to proceed in the business, the good success of which so much depends upon promptitude of action. As to the exclusion of all other matters, fear nothing, for here they are of opinion with yourself, that a great undertaking never advances straight forward upon two roads.[114] I address this packet to Steltius, at Calais, with orders to send it to you by express. The importance of the business requires that it should be delivered to you expeditiously and safely; let me know, therefore, by the first opportunity, whether you have received it, and advance the business as much as possible by writing, until time and opportunity permit the employment of necessary instruments. I send you here-inclosed a Cipher, and commit myself to your good favour, ever remaining, &c.

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the Original Draft in French, written by Lord Carleton.*]

LXV. THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.[115]

Sir: *March* 9, 1626-7.

Referring you to Gerbier for answer to all that relates to you (of which he has faithfully acquitted himself), I will only say,

[114] Gerbier had previously written "trop de cuisiniers gatteront le pottage," which is however erased for "une grande affaire ne marche jamais droit sur deux chemins."

[115] The following rough draft in Lord Carleton's hand was most probably dictated by King Charles, and formed the ground-work of the above letter of the 9th March, which was subsequently written to Rubens in French and

[*Indorsed*]

"His Ma^{ties} concept of y^{e} subject of a lr̃e from my L^{d} Duke to Rubens; given me at Denmarke House the of March, 1626.

S^{r}:

Although the world seeth the Infanta, and y^{e} Marquis have raison to crowne theyr actions by a conclusion of peace, and that my Master hath rather subject to gaine that they have gotten by warre; yet I judge him to be of that pious nature that he may be induced to a peace, so it may be wth his Honor and the re-establishment of those who are nearest unto him.

although the world will judge that Her Highness and the Marquis have reason to crown their past actions by a conclusion of peace; and that the King my master hath rather subject to seek the honour they have already acquired by the glory of arms; nevertheless, I am so thoroughly satisfied of the pious nature of His Majesty, that it would not be difficult to induce him to consent to peace, provided it were neither dishonourable to him nor prejudicial to the re-establishment of those who are the nearest to him. As for me, I will contribute to it by using all the influence I have with His Majesty; and you may be assured I should not have gone so far in a business of such importance without being well authorised. Remaining, &c.,

BUCKINGHAM.

[*This English Translation is in the handwriting of Secretary Coke; the French in Gerbier's.*]

LXVI. THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM RETURNED A SECOND ANSWER AS FOLLOWS, WHICH WAS SENT MARCH 9, 1626-7.[116]

THE Duke of Buckingham having seen the papers browght by Gerbier from Rubens, written uppon such ouverturs, as originally sprang from Rubens uppon conference betwixt them, saith—

Concerning the difficulties betwixt the Emperour and the King of Denmarck, that ther being good correspondence and no hostilitie betwixt Spaine and Denmark: hee being wel assured that a setled frendship betwixt England and Spaine wil inlarge itself to the re-establishment of Germaine, conceaveth no interuption wil arise from thence in regward of the estats of the United Provinces. Touching those Provinces, it is notoriously known what strict alliance is established between his Ma^te^ and the States, so as in honor and justice hee can not single himself from them. But whilst the Infanta is procuring such power from Spaine as is necessarie on their part, the Duke wil use his best indevor w^th^ his Ma^te^ to procure their concurrence uppon reasonable and fit termes.

In the authorisation the Infanta is to have from Spaine, it wil bee necessarie to include the restitution of his Ma^tes^ brother and

[116] This document which is in the handwriting of Secretary Sir John Coke is indorsed—"Project of a treatie made by Rubens." The French translation is indorsed by Lord Carleton—"Responce donnée à Rubens au nom du Duc de Buckingham."

sister to their honor and patrimonie; at least, so farre forth as that King's power and credit may extend unto.

The following answers in the handwriting of Secretary Coke, although of the same tenor as the preceding, are much fuller. The paragraph printed in Italics is struck out in the original.

LXVII. ANSWERS TO THE OVERTURS MADE BY RUBENS TO GERBIER.

The Marquesse Spinola's letters of attestation sent to Gerbier have given sufficient credit and waight to everie woord contained in the memorials and papers delivered by Rubens. Besides the honor of so royal a Princess as the Infanta, and such a renowned comander as the Marquess and the reasons alledged to cleare their intentions, are held satisfactorie to exclude all other intromission, thowgh divers persons and some of the greatest qualitie have proffered herin their best offices and advise.

And thowgh the Duke of Buckingham may thinck it verie strange that theis propositions should bee called his, w^ch^ grew from private conference of honest and wel affected persons imploied to other ends: yet considering the good effects they may produce not only to those kingdoms w^ch^ they properly concern: but in consequence to the comon good of al Christendom besids, hee is wel contented, not only to pass over this streine of formalitie, but wil also labor to remove such other difficulties as may give interruption to this woorke.

It is a matter indeed of verie great importance and much taken to hart by the King of Great Brittaine, that the Princes of Germanie his Kinsmen and allies should bee restored to their estats, and to their due dependance and homage to the Empire: w^ch^ (as the Duke of Bavaria stands affected) may concern the Howse of Austria and Emperour above the rest. But considering that nether the King of Denmark, nor anie of the Princes imbroiled in theis wars standeth in anie termes of hostilitie w^th^ Spaine: And that the reconciling of Great Brittaine and Spaine wil bee the best preparative and most assured meanes to pacifie the Empire, and reduce it to the ancient lustre to bee the powrful bulwerck of Christendom against the Turck; it can not bee dowted that theis several differences may bee severally compounded and so al in due time.

But what strickt confederacie the King of Great Brittaine hath entered into w^th^ the States of the United Provinces is verie wel known: so as from them in anie treatie w^th^ honor and justice hee can not devide. And seeing the title of free states, for w^ch^ both sides make the warre, is so disagreeable to the King of Spaine, it may be so accomodated that the King of Great Brittaine, treating for a truce or a peace for himself and his confederats the States, that dispute may bee declined w^ch^ might grow about the title. But in case the States shall press that stile as a point of their subsistence, consideration must bee had, whether the truce may not proceed in the same termes as formerly it did, if the former expedient do not succeed. And herin a resolution must speedily bee had: and power accordingly procured uppon confidence that al indevor shal bee used w^th^ the King of Great Brittaine by effectual offices to accomplish as much for accomodation w^th^ the States, as here is acknowledged that his Father did in pursuance of the peace made in the year 1604, and w^th^ so much more affection and indevor to answer the frendly obligation herin presented on the King of Spaine's part in good ernest for setling the affairs of Germanie.

And for redeeming of time (wherof most wil bee spent in sending to Spaine for Comission to treat and conclude, w^ch^ necessarily must bee had) the interim shal bee imploied to procure the concurrence of the states: and to prepare the articles by private instruments from al parts. And to facilitate the business, the Councel here given is verie expedient to woorke uppon the articles of former treaties, as wel of the peace of the yeare 1604, as of the truce of the low Contries. Wherin the restitution of the honors and patrimonie to his Ma^tes^ deer brother and sister must bee provided for by sufficient authorisation from Spaine, at least, so farre as the credit and power of that King extends unto.

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A, No. VI.]

LXVIII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

April $\frac{11}{21}$, 1627.

Sir:

By what you were pleased to write me on the 9th of March last, I have received the perfect assurance of the good will of Your

Excellency towards me, which I will endeavour to merit on occasions agreeable to you, and when it may please you to employ me in Your Highness' service. I very humbly beseech you to excuse my having deferred so many days replying, with reference to the business which Your Excellency is acquainted with. I have been expecting some news from Spain, but as there is so much delay I would not allow any more time to elapse without acknowledging the receipt of the said letter, and kissing your hands for the favours you have been pleased to show me. As soon as the answer arrives from His Catholic Majesty, I will make Your Excellency acquainted with it, wishing as much as I ought to see this *beau chef-d'œurre* completed. In the mean time, I commend myself with all submission to Your Excellency's favour, being resolved to live and die,

My Lord, &c.,

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A, No. VII.]

LXIX. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

April $\frac{11}{21}$, 1627.

SIR:

I HAVE deferred answering your first letter of the 9th of March last, according to your style, hoping Her Highness might receive some intelligence upon what she had written, touching the first proposition. But as that is delayed, I would not defer acknowledging the receipt of yours with the papers enclosed. They were despatched by a courier to His Catholic Majesty, informing him of the contents, and praying him to return an answer immediately, as I am sure he will, when I will advertize you by the way you wrote to me. Praying God that this business may terminate as is wished for the good of Christianity, and not having at this time anything else to say, I kiss your hands with all my heart, ever remaining,

Sir, &c.,

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

With these two letters, there was a private one in Flemish,[117]

[117] I regret that I do not find this letter.

the subject of which was to assure Gerbier of the good inclination on Rubens' side, of the diligence that was being used, and of the true cause of the courier's delay, who was expedited from Spain, which was accidental, through the arrival of the second packet, which had come from England, and would no doubt be quickly answered. Finally, that the two letters in French, one to the Duke and the other to Gerbier, were written on behalf of the Infanta, by Signor Boscott, Chancellor of Brabant, heretofore Ambassador in England, who also gave orders to Rubens to assure Gerbier of the sincere intentions of Her Serene Highness, and of the Marquis Spinola.

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A. No. VIII. *The names which are in cypher, are decyphered, in part, by Lord Carleton.*]

LXX. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Antwerp, May $\frac{9}{19}$, 1627.[118]

Sir:

Your silence astonishes me, and makes me doubt whether our packets were rightly addressed. In a correspondence of such importance, letters received should always be acknowledged, as in case of any mischance it might be remedied by duplicates. You will see by the enclosed, from the Ambassador of Savoy,[119] that we have been together at Brussels, and I confess,

[118] A letter written by Peter Paul Rubens to Du Puy, and dated Antwerp, $\frac{31\ May}{10\ June}$, 1627, formerly in the collection of Mons. A. Donnadieu, was sold by auction in August, 1851, and is thus described in the catalogue:—"He announces the death of the Duchess of Orleans, which everybody deplores, and the Cardinal more than any one. Bouteville and Chapelle (celebrated duellists) had lost the only one who could intercede for them, and the Cardinal Richelieu has resolved on their execution as an example. The insolence and barbarism of the English daily increase; they had cut in pieces a captain of marines who had come from Spain, and had thrown all his cases overboard. . . . . He has been considering the subject of the twenty-five pictures, but is not yet quite determined about them. He makes a long digression on his favourite subjects, quotes Plutarch, and concludes by expressing his opinion that heroic subjects are preferable to mythological subjects." Holograph letter, 3 pages, folio [in Italian]. In "Lettres Inédites de P. P. Rubens, publiées par Emile Gachet," Bruxelles, 1840. There will be found many letters from Rubens to Du Puy, but this one is not amongst them.

[119] I have not thought it necessary to print this inclosure; it is dated from Brussels, $\frac{7}{17}$ May, 1627, and addressed to the Duke of Buckingham, begging him to send Gerbier to Amsterdam by the end of the month of May, when he hopes to be there "that he may communicate with him and inform him of all that is passing which is very important to the business in treaty."

on my part, to have received all the satisfaction in the world. The Ambassador of Savoy sends his compliments, with the Infanta, and Spinola. He would only enter into the matter (mistère) through my means, and having found him as well informed as ourselves, *it has been thought proper to treat with him in sincerity, and without any reserve or after thought.* I have informed him by the express order of Spinola, very exactly, of the present state of the business, and most entirely assured him of the good and holy intentions on our side. Also I can inform you that we have had something on the part of 70 [Spain ?] which gives us courage, and makes us hope well for the success of the business, but that is not sufficient to put it in execution. We believe that by Divine grace, the rest will soon follow. I have returned to Antwerp, having unravelled the business, and put Scaglia and Spinola so near to one another, that they can talk over the business of the Treaty; nevertheless, they have always done me the honour in any doubt, scruple, or ambiguity, on either side, to allow me to clear it up. I do not now think there is any difficulty between them; they understand, and are very well satisfied with each other, showing no distrust. Indeed, we find Scaglia extremely able in affairs of such importance, and I am very glad he has formed the resolution of going to Holland, for all the debate will be, as I have said to Scaglia and you *oftentimes before, upon the pretension of the States to bear the name which they have in effect now.* Scaglia told me that he thought you would come and find him in that quarter. I should esteem myself very happy to be able to meet you, but I believe my Masters dare not send me of their own accord, otherwise I am of opinion that my presence would greatly serve in promoting the business by clearing up, between ourselves, the difficulties heretofore debated: *for having been employed in this treaty continually since the rupture, I have all the papers presented on both sides in my hands.* We could consult together with Scaglia and Carleton. This is why I beg you to find means that this requisition be made to Buckingham, and to write me a letter to this effect, saying that he sends you to that part in charge of many things which could not be safely or easily trusted to paper, and that he dares not send you back again to Brussels on account of the reports it would give rise to, as before, but notwithstanding His Excellency wishes that I should go there with the permission of my superiors, to meet you on the happy circumstance of Carleton and Scaglia being also there. This would be a *grand coup*, for, as

I have told you, all difficulties, which might hinder or at least render this *fine chef-d'œuvre incomplete, consist in the business of the States. I have friends there of high standing, and my old correspondents*, who would not fail to do their duty. I pray you see this be done, but on condition of an inviolable faith to keep this, my request, secret, without it ever being known that it was made through my instruction. Scaglia will be in this city the day after to-morrow, and we have sent his letter for a passport from the States. I am well satisfied they will be of my opinion touching my going there, although I have not broached this to him, entrusting the secret of this letter with you only to communicate it to Buckingham, but you must by the same means, at least by Carleton or Scaglia, immediately obtain by entreaty a passport for me. I intreat you to answer this immediately, also as to the particulars already written so many times touching the remainder of the paintings belonging to Buckingham, which I dare not send without your order, seeing the passage is so embroiled and dangerous that I would not venture to undertake it without your express order. And, having nothing else to say, I very humbly kiss your hands, and commend myself to your good favour, ever remaining, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

I beg of you to burn this letter as soon as you have done with it, for it might ruin me with my masters, although it contains no harm, it would, at least, destroy my credit with them, and render me useless for the future.

The Duke of Buckingham, in consequence, ordered Gerbier to repair to Holland, with my Lord Ambassador Carleton, who being arrived,[120] Gerbier sent a passport to Rubens, and gave him notice

[120] Lord Carleton's instructions, as Ambassador Extraordinary to Holland, are dated 27 May, 1627; and his first letter from the Hague is dated the 13th June, of which the following is an extract:—

LORD CARLETON TO SECRETARY LORD KILLULTAGH.

"*Hague, June* 13, 1627.

"All I can now advertise is that here I meete wth the Abbot de la Scaglia (in that qualitie onely) not as Ambassador for the Duke his master. Rubens pasport is graunted him, so as we are like to see him here quickly, and a goode eye w^{ch} is cast uppon the one, and easie yealding to the other (both theyr businesses being well knowne) shew how they here stand affected."

Again on the 27th June, Lord Carleton writes to Secretary Lord Killultagh:—

"The Abbot de la Scaglia having made a journey to Utrecht and other townes,

of his arrival in Holland. Rubens having received Gerbier's letter, replied as follows :—

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A, No. IX.]

LXXI. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Breda, $\frac{June\ 30}{July\ 10}$, 1627.

Sir :

I have communicated your letter in the proper quarter, and I have been ordered, for reasons which you will find just and equitable, not to go beyond Zevenberghen [121] at present; I beg of you to repair thither immediately, and as soon as you arrive to give me notice by an express, addressing it to Breda, at the Swan, where I am staying awaiting news from you; I will not fail to come and kiss your hands at the same instant. In the meanwhile entreating you to keep me in your good favour, I kiss your hands with all my heart, ever remaining, Sir,

Peter Paul Rubens.

LXXII. LORD CARLETON TO SEC. LORD CONWAY.[122] (*Extract.*)

Right Honorable my noble L^D^ : *Hagh, July* 2, 1627.

* * * * *

This day Rubens is expected here, or at least answeare from him concerning his coming; w^th^ what it will produce I can not yet prognostique: but I must lett yo^r^ L^P^ understand that such advises as are come of late dayes from Bruxells to the Prince of Orange from such secret intelligencers as they here relye upon, all concurre that howsoever there is good affection in those parts to pacification, out of Spayne comes no signe of any such intention; but on y^e^ contrary that y^e^ Emp^rs^ Amb^r^ who last returned out of Spayne that way, had there openly declared that y^e^ K. of Spayne was resolved to pursue the advantage of his affaires as well in

came back hither last night. Gerbier is absent and Rubens not yet come, so as their business hath yet no moving." And on the 29th June :—"Here we are expecting the coming of Rubens, Mons^r^ de la Scaglia and Gerbier."

These three extracts are printed in "Sir Dudley Carleton's State Letters, 1627," edited by Sir Thos. Phillipps, pp. 18, 30, 68.

[121] A province in North Brabant, nine miles W.N.W. of Breda.

[122] Very imperfectly printed in "Sir Dudley Carleton's State Letters, 1627," p. 70.

these parts as in Germany, where he dissuaded the Emp^r^ to hearken to peace w^th^ the King of Denmarke or any accomodation about the Palatinat: and it is thought Don Diego Mesia newly arrived at Bruxells brings confirmation of those orders. There should be about this tyme two Deputyes at Bruxells from Franckendale to complayne of the suppressing in that Towne the Preachers and Teachers of the reformed Religion by the Spanish Gover^r^, and taking away the use of theyr Churches and Schooles contrary to capitulation, when that towne was deposited by o^r^ late K. of happy memory into the Infanta's hands. To w^ch^ effect the towne hath written to his Ma^ty^ in the lr̃e I send herew^th^, desiring his assistance by way of recom̃endation and yf Rubens come hether I will lett him knowe w^th^ the first what judgem^t^ must needs be made by his Ma^ty^ of this manner of proceeding, to the end the Inhabitants be not separated before some new order be given, and surely no other judgem^t^ can be made thereof but that the Spaniards, howsoever they temporise more then formerly w^th^ those of o^r^ Religion in such places where they gett possession, yet theyr end and scope is to establish theyr conquests by their utter extirpac̃on.

* * * * *

Y^r^ L^ps^

most humble servant,

D. Carleton.

LXXIII. LORD CARLETON TO SEC. LORD CONWAY.[123] (*Extract.*)

Right Honorable my noble L^D^: *Hagh, July* 3, 1627.

In place of Rubens (who was expected here yesterday) there came late at night a secret messenger (who left him at Breda) w^th^ a few lynes to Gerbier,[124] excusing his com̃ing any further at this tyme (by order of those who have com̃aund over him for great and important reasons, as he sayth,) then Sevenberghen, and desiring Gerbier there to meete him, who is very much troubled how to governe himself, and for my part, I can not persuade him to goe: for Rubens having an absolute and ample pasport to come into these United Provinces w^th^ his servants and bagage (w^ch^ was obtayned under pretence of a treaty betwixt him and Gerbier about

[123] Very imperfectly printed in "Sir Dudley Carleton's State Letters, 1627," p. 72.

[124] See *ante*, p. 85.

pictures and other rarityes) theyr meeting in the confines (w^{ch} can not be concealed) could be of no other use then to putt by the pretence, and fill the world full of talke of the true subject of theyr busines : and if they on the other side proceed roundly and really, why should not the instrument they employ come forward ? yf theyr intent be onely to rayse rumo^{r}, why should wee second them ?

Yet this may be imagined, that Don Diego Mesia being newly come to Bruxells out of Spayne, may have bred some interruption, in the way before resolved of, betwixt the Infanta and the Marquis Spinola, and that therfore they would first knowe on the other side, by some cõunication wth Gerbier, how they stand here affected, before Rubens (the shadow of whose jorney is look't through by all men of insight into affaires) come openly into this countrey.

This is the best can be made of this manner of proceeding, and the worst is, yf by concurring therin wee should injealouse the States of his Ma^{ty}, as yf being here amongst them wee dealt underhand and apart wth o^{r} comon enemyes, w^{ch} were an ill effect of my employment into these parts : wherfore I knowe no better way then that w^{ch} is playne and direct, to acquaint such of the States Deputyes as are appointed to treate wth me, under secrecy, wth the busines as it stands, and to doe nothing therin wthout theyr comunication, w^{ch} will not onely prevent all jealousy, but putt an obligation upon them, as an argument of confidence. And this the Abbot de la Scaglia likes very well of ; whose opinion is (differing from the judgem^{t} is here made by the States w^{ch} yo^{r} L^{p} will find in my yesterdayes lr̃es) that the present necessityes of the Spaniards, and disorder of theyr affaires, for want of money, will drive them to a treaty : though otherwise he seemes to trust theyr fayre dealing as little as other men.

Another danger of this meeting betwixt Rubens and Gerbier in the confines would be, the fame thereof w^{ch} might be sent flying to the K. of Denmarke: who would doubtles much startle at the newes ; because he hath bene no wayes made acquainted wth the businesse.

* * * * *

Y^{r} L^{ps}
most humble and
most affectionat servant,
D. Carleton.

Gerbier having received Rubens' letter from Breda, of 30 June, and thinking there was some artifice in his refusal to come to Holland, the place agreed upon, and that he wished to draw Gerbier to the confines and dominions of Spain, and make it appear to all the world that England was seeking Spain, wrote the following answer:

[*Translated from the French.*]

LXXIV. B. GERBIER TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

Hague, July $\frac{3}{13}$, 1627, *sent to Breda.*

Sir:

Your last letter of the 10th July [N.S.], induces me to believe that you have received the passport which I sent you, since you talk about repairing to Zevenberghen to see me. The said passport is very ample, and with it you can go where you please with servants and baggage, so that you will meet with no difficulty. You write me word that you have been ordered not to come further at present; I cannot understand the reason, the place being contiguous to this country, my going thither would cause reports and suspicions. Not being at liberty to take any other steps than those which the Duke my Master has ordered me, it is now too late, and impossible to obtain fresh orders; he is at sea, where I ought to go and meet him as he commanded me, and I should not have deferred doing so if I had known of this delay, for I must confess to you that I am very much displeased at being absent from my Master on such an occasion.[125] You are nearer those who command you, and can choose whether you will

[125] The following letter (translated from the French), written by the Abbate de Scaglia, Ambassador from the Duke of Savoy to the Duke of Buckingham, and dated from the Hague the $\frac{8}{18}$ August, 1627, is curious and interesting:—

"My Lord,—Your name is already made glorious to the world, your valour has filled your enemies with fear and astonishment, and made your King and Nation victorious. You cannot doubt the extreme satisfaction that I feel in wishing you the continuation of that sort of prosperity. From the beginning you made it known that you possessed the courage of Scipio, I wish you the fortune of Cæsar and the glory of Alexander. Gerbier will tell you the news, and my strong desire to have the honour of seeing you, which will make me take the first ship that goes your way, so that I may kiss your hands. The miserable Gerbier has *devenu fol* at being so long away from you, and at not being with you at the Descent in the Isles when you made it known to all the world that you could take the part of Mars as well as Neptune. With my best wishes, &c., A. de Scaglia."

come to Delfdt, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, or Utrecht, if the Hague does not suit you, for in any case your journey is known here, since your passport was made out here.

I commend myself, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

["Another Letter which I wrote to him as between him and me."]

LXXV. B. GERBIER TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

Hague, July, $\frac{3}{13}$, 1627.

Sir:

I cannot conceal from you that after having finished my other letter, I began to ruminate upon the difficulty you made in coming nearer than Zevenberghen, and I must tell you frankly as my friend, that I apprehend this business will end in smoke. Permit me to argue with you the reason why. If, as you have told me, the Infanta and the Marquis Spinola are so eager and zealous about this good business, and that you are of the same opinion with the royal and sincere intention of the King of Great Britain, why then render it subject to suspicions which delay must give rise to, for thus are great undertakings always ruined; and if on your side there is a will to proceed roundly, why lose time when you have been so well informed that we on our side will labour to overcome the greatest difficulties. While you on your side are procuring the full powers which are requisite and necessary, it is you who should now act and testify effectually what your intentions are, and not make scruples as to whether you should travel three leagues or only two. There is no finesse in our actions; since you could not come to Zevenberghen without a passport, it is in my opinion a matter of no moment whether you go further or come nearer. And you cannot be ignorant of the noise which this interview at Zevenberghen would make, if it took place without the knowledge of the States. They would be justly entitled to think that we had some monopoly, and principally at the same time. If this interview were made known to the States, consider how long it would take to communicate to them all, who do nothing the one without the other. What stories these Ambassadors of France and Venice would relate to the

prejudice of the wished for success. It is only, therefore, by proceeding roundly that this good design can be brought to a successful result. Do not let this business which took its rise upon the subject of pictures, end in smoke; our ancient friendship gives me liberty to speak plainly. And to return to the old subject; let me beg of you to send us the remainder of our pictures.

B. Gerbier.

Rubens upon this writes again to Gerbier,[126] inviting him to come to Zevenberghen, a neuter place, where at other times those who treated for a truce between the States of the United Provinces and the Archduke Albert on the part of Spain, met, urging that it was less open to suspicion, and conjuring Gerbier to believe that he had no other design than to do all for the best, and prevent those who were ill-disposed to the business which was so much desired, from having an opportunity to raise any difficulties.

Gerbier replied[126] that Zevenberghen was a place remarkable, where persons meeting would cause more suspicion than in the centre of large cities where no notice was taken of strangers, that in these paltry towns everything spreads immediately, and that, finally, he would not proceed an inch further than these limits, being of opinion that if there were a sincere and solid intention on the part of Spain they would not make any difficulty in dealing openly.

LXXVI. LORD CARLETON TO SEC. LORD CONWAY.[127] (*Extract.*)

Hagh, July 15, 1627.

Right Honorable my noble L^{p}:

* * * * *

In my last I advertised yo^{r} L^{p} of Rubens coming to Breda, and

[126] I regret that I do not find these letters.

[127] Very imperfectly printed in "Sir Dudley Carleton's State Letters," 1627, p. 73. On the same day Lord Carleton also wrote to my L^{d} Steward [William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, see *ante*, p. 14, note 39], as follows:—

"Rubens is come hether, under pretence of comerce of pictures wth Gerbier: & for other matters hath no more in charge then to assure a good intention to pacificacon with Eng^{d}, these parts & Germany: for w^{ch} (he sayth) Don Diego Mexia (whome they expect at Bruxells like a Messias) brings order."

To Lord Carlisle:—"Rubens is heere, but brings nothing more then an assurance of good intention of pacification on the other side; for w^{ch} (hee sayth) the order comes by

upon what consideration Gerbier[128] forbore going to meete him at Sevenberghen whereupon he returned to Bruxells and immediately had order from thence to come hether into Holland, where he now is, and Gerbier in his company walking from towne to towne upon theyr pretence of pictures: w^ch^ may serve him for a few dayes, so he dispatch and be gone; but yf he entertayne tyme long here he will infallibly be layd hold of or sent w^th^ disgrace out of the Countrey: for here they can have no other opinion of theyr doings on y^e^ other side, but y^t^ all his fraude and deceit, and they believe of this man as of others whome they style Emissaryes, who upon severall pretences are sent into these Countreyes to espye y^e^ actions of state and rayse rumo^r^ among the people; as yf the K. of Spayne and the Infanta were growne by tyme and experience more mild and moderat, and would suffer these Countreyes to live in quiett upon any reasonable conditions; but y^t^ some of these States and others, for theyr owne interest, to keepe themselves in action and goverm^t^, held all in diffidence and distrust, wherby to make these parts a perpetuall seate of warre. The Heere van Merodes (who hath much land on both sides) being discovered amongst others to have used this language, was written unto very lately at one of his houses by the States to come before them: but he suspecting y^e^ matter went immediately to y^e^ other side. This I have made known to Rubens least he should meete w^th^ a skorne w^ch^ may in some sorte reflect upon others.

He in the meanetyme hath made thus much knowne unto me; y^t^ his sodayne dispatch hether after Gerbier's excuse of meeting him at Sevenberghen, proceeded of the Infanta's and Marquis Spinola's care, that wee should not thincke they were growne cold in y^e^ businesse of pacification; he having order to give assurance that Don Diego Mesia[129] brought sufficient power w^th^ him to treate;

Don Diego Mexia, and hee is expected at Brussels like a Messias with these entrefaicts." And To Lord Holland:—"The States have written both to his Ma^ty^ and the Fr: K. perswading them to reconcilem^t^ in regard of these Provinces: in the preservation of w^ch^ the two crownes have concurred of late yeares (notwithstanding all differences and disputes) as in a comon interest: and Rubens is heere, assuring us of a good intention on the other side, to pacify, with England, these countryes and Germany; for which hee sayth Don Diego Mexia brings order to Brussels, but whoe shall speake first, or how to sett this worke in hand in the midst of soe much doubt and jealousy, as heere I meet with, is a great question."

[128] Gerbier wrote a long despatch to Sec. Lord Conway from the Hague on $\frac{27 \text{ July}}{6 \text{ Aug.}}$, which I have not thought necessary to print; in Walpole, vol. ii. p. 401, *et seq.*, will be found one of the same tenor and date to Henry Earl of Holland.

[129] Don Diego de Mexia, Chevalier de l'Ordre de St. Jacques, and Ambassador Extraordinary of the Infanta Isabella, Archduchess of Austria, to King Charles I.

but that by some hurt receaved by a fall of his coach before he came to Bourdeaux, he was stayd on the way, so as he could not be at Paris sooner then the $\frac{1}{11}$ of this month, and y^t^ there the King's sicknesse might stay him some while before he could passe further (y^e^ report w^ch^ Mr. Montague [130] brought of his arrivall at Bruxells being onely some of his trayne), and further he sayth that the Infanta had lr̃es from the Emp^r^, wherby she rests satisfyed he wilbe ruled by her in y^e^ businesse of Germany, and in this confidence he desires to have some light from hence both of these men's intentions and y^e^ way of proceeding: wherin he will not be able to carry backe any satisfaction, for till they have full power on the other side it is a vanity here to propose any thing.

I have not myself spoken w^th^ Rubens, because he pretends to have order not to come to the Hagh, and for me to meete him at any of these adjoyning townes (as the Abbot de la Scaglia did on Friday last at Delft) would rayse much discourse. He is now at Amsterdam, and by Utrecht purposeth to goe on Wednesday next back into Brabant, and to lett us knowe more from thence upon y^e^ arrivall of Don Diego Mesia: till when Gerbier intends to stay here to carry his Ma^ty^ a full report of all: wherupon his Ma^ty^ may give such directions as may seeme best to his wisedome.

Because much rumo^r^ is raysed upon Rubens coming, w^ch^ was advertised hether from y^e^ first Inne he came to in Roterdam and will increase much in going, I have employed my nephew Dudley Carleton, expresly to the Pr: of Orange, and such of the States he hath w^th^ him in the camp to acquaint them w^th^ all that passeth, to y^e^ end they should not enter into any apprehension upon misreports that wee are here manadging some matter of secret in theyr absence: for in this ombragious tyme and place there can not bee too much circumspection used to prevent inconveniences.

* * * * *

Y^r^ L^ps^
most humble and
most faythfull servant,
D. Carleton.

[130] Walter Montagu was the second son of Henry, first Earl of Manchester. He was employed by King Charles I as a Political Agent to Savoy, also during the siege of Rochelle, but subsequently turned Papist and entered the service of Louis XIV, who appointed him commendatory Abbot of Pontoise and Member of the Council to the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria.

[*Translated from the French.*]

LXXVII.

Gerbier after a sufficiently long communication of eight days, which Rubens and he had had together in Holland, remarked that Rubens had brought nothing in black and white, and that all he said was only in words. With reference to his communications; in the first place, he assured him of the sincere intention of the Duke of Buckingham, who had by every possible means kept the King of Great Britain in the same mind as he had been from the first, to lend a favourable ear to any good understanding: secondly, it was astonishing the length of time that Spain took to reply, seeing the protestations Rubens made of the great inclination of his Masters: thirdly, the care he testified to me that the Infanta took to send him on this journey, that no umbrage might arise out of the delay, gave satisfaction: but that notwithstanding upon his proposing to me to make a rough draught of the business I could say nothing else, seeing neither black nor white on the part of Spain, and that England would never declare herself upon those terms: and fourthly, all that could be said were only words without any foundation, so that it would be always to the disadvantage of England to treat with a party who might be disowned.

Gerbier pressing Rubens to repair to Don Diego Mexia, who was laid up ill on the road, and who might be delayed at Paris by the King's evil, Rubens returns and obtains a promise from Gerbier that he would remain a month longer in Holland. Rubens continually entertains him with letters, advising him from week to week of the indisposition of Don Diego Mexia, and of the hope that he would shortly be at Brussels.

LXXVIII. LORD CARLETON TO SEC. LORD CONWAY.[131] (*Extract.*)

Hagh, July 28, 1627.

Right Honorable my noble L^{D}:

* * * * *

Yesterday I desired Gerbier to goe to Amsterdam (Rubens being returned to Bruxells).

* * * * *

[131] Printed in "Sir Dudley Carleton's State Letters, 1627," p. 41.

The Prince of Orange tooke well my sending my nephew unto him to informe him of that little w^{ch} Rubens brought, and I perceave by his answeare that yf Rubens returne upon Don Diego Mexias arrivall at Bruxells wth matter of more moment, he wilbe content to heare it; yf Mexias sicknesse should continue and hold him longer at Paris, it is likely Rubens will goe thether to him.

* * * * *

Y^{r} L^{ps}
most humble servant,
D. Carleton.

LXXIX. LORD CARLETON TO SEC. LORD CONWAY.[132] (*Extract.*)

Hague, Aug. 6, 1627.

Right Honorable my noble L^{D}:

* * * * *

Here is no newes of Rubens since his returne into Brabant, w^{ch} makes it believed he is gone to find Don Diego Mexia at Paris: whose long abode there under pretence of sicknes, must needs cover somwhat else: for yf the purpose were serious w^{ch} Rubens doth professe, why this losse of tyme? why could not Mexia though sick, come as well forward from Paris to Bruxells as he did in the same estate from Burdeaux to Paris?

I have seene an advertisem^{t} by the last lr̃es from Paris as written thether from Bruxelles; that Gerbier having bene sent expresly out of England hath bene secretly at Bruxells, that he did treate there wth the Infanta and the Marquis Spinola, and that therupon Rubens was sent hether. This is like that fiction advertised to (*sic*) Bruxells of Marini, the French Amb^{rs} hyding behind a peece of tapistrye to heare what Mr. Montague should say from his Ma^{ty} to the Duke of Savoy: and shewes how both France and Spayne seeke to sett a valewe upon themselves by seeming to be sought to by his Ma^{ty}.

* * * * *

Y^{r} L^{ps}
most humble servant,
D. Carleton.

[132] Printed in "Sir Dudley Carleton's State Letters, 1627," p. 46.

LXXX. LORD CARLETON TO SEC. LORD CONWAY.[133] (*Extract.*)

Hagh, Aug. 12, 1627.

Right Honorable my noble L^p^:

* * * * *

Mr. Montague passing by Antwerp, hath written hether that he there mett Rubens, who told him he still looked for the coñing of Don Diego de Mexia, who (according to advertisem^t^) was parted from Paris: and that being so, they need not expect him long at Bruxells.

* * * * *

Y^r^ L^ps^
most humble servant,
D. Carleton.

[*Translated from the French.*]

LXXX*. EXTRACT OF A LETTER WRITTEN TO THE ELECTOR OF COLOGNE FROM SPA.

[*August,* 1627.]

It seems that the Treaty, of which the Sieur Rubens laid the foundation with the English, advances little by little, and that his journey from Holland, from whence he returned some days past, having been called there by Ambassador Carleton, has also given an impetus to it. This opinion is confirmed by the arrival in this place of the Sieur de Montagu, an Englishman, who had no sooner arrived yesterday than he sought out the Marquis Spinola * * * * This Rubens, above-mentioned, is a principal Painter of Antwerp, who sold, for 100,000 florins, antiquities to the Duke of Buckingham, and while this purchase, which took some time, was being made, this negociation it appears began. Montagu is a young English Lord, greatly favoured by Buckingham: several are of opinion that it is to maintain good friendship and correspondence between the Spaniards and English, and some add that France will be included, but there is little appearance of that, inasmuch, as Your Highness will have heard elsewhere, the

[133] Printed in "Sir Dudley Carleton's State Letters. 1627," p. 63. Sec. Conway writes to Sir Isaac Wake at Turin on 6 August, 1627, "Mr. Montague had order in his passage by the Hague to informe himselfe from the Savoy Ambass^r^. and Lord Carleton of the progresse of the affairs in that part."

English have made a descent in the Isle of Rhé, where they are still fighting. But since Rubens and Montagu have come from Holland, I am inclined to believe that in these Treaties the Hollanders will most probably be comprised and perchance the Palatine also.

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A, No. X.]

[*Indorsed by Gerbier, reçu le premier de Septembre,* [N. S.] 1627, *Haye.*]

LXXXI. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [B. GERBIER.]

Antwerp, August $\frac{17}{27}$, 1627.

SIR:

YOU have, apparently, reason to complain of us, having kept you so long far away from my Lord your Master and Mademoiselle your Companion upon expectation of the arrival of the Lord Don Diego Messia, but you must excuse us since we are proceeding in good faith, and according to our credentials, not being able to guess at the unexpected incidents of peace. Notwithstanding there is news that he should have started on the 22nd from Paris, to this very hour there is no certainty he has left; it is reasonable to suppose that some Avant Courier should make his appearance before his arrival. I have communicated your letter to my Lord the Marquis, accompanied with mine to you, as also your resolution to return to England. I will not fail to let you know what I am ordered to tell you, and not having anything else at this time to say, I very humbly kiss your hands.

Ever remaining, Sir,
your most humble servant,
PETER PAUL RUBENS.

It is necessary that you should give orders about the address of our letters, since the passage through Calais is blocked up, as Monsieur Steltius has informed me. I have licence to write to and receive letters from Holland, but I prefer doing so under the name of Monsieur Arnoldo Lunden, living at Antwerp.

LXXXII. LORD CARLETON TO SEC. LORD CONWAY.[134] (*Extract.*)

Hagh, Sept. 7, 1627.

The Savoy Ambass^r^ (Abbate de Scaglia) hath had an expresse from the D. of Savoye his Maister: By w^ch^ hee hath letters of credence to the States and the Prince of Orenge, but forbeares deliveringe of them, till hee see what comes from Rubens upon arryvall of Diego Mexia at Bruxelles,[135] who came thither the 29 of the last sick and weake and in that regard the Savoy Ambas^r^ finds subject of excuse that here is yet noe newes from him but conceaves the best upon advertisements that the Archduchess, Marq. Spinola and Mexia himself w^th^ other publick Ministers are resolutely bent to peace w^th^ England.

[*Translated from the French.*]

LXXXIII. B. GERBIER TO SEC. LORD CONWAY. (*Extract.*)

Delfdt, September $\frac{14}{24}$, 1627.

Rubens in a little note tells me that he wishes the fleet would soon fall in with ours, and the Spaniards get a good drubbing, so that the impetuosity [fougue] of the Count d'Olivares might be the means of doing good in some way, which he learns will be necessary, since some sort of inkling of the Business has been given to some of the States here, that some account may be given to them which will turn to the advantage of the King of of Great Britain, and cause them to occupy themselves more about it.

[*Translated from the French.*]

LXXXIV. B. GERBIER TO SECRETARY LORD CONWAY.

Hague, September $\frac{15}{25}$, 1627.

Sir:

Two days ago I sent you, by express, intelligence that the

[134] Printed in "Sir Dudley Carleton's State Letters, 1627," p. 76. Sec. Conway writes to Sir Isaac Wake at Turin on 6 Aug. 1627, "The Abbot of Scaglia is expected here shortly, where he cannot but find all welcome, being a person that hath exprest much affection to the advancement of the present designes and his Ma^ties^ service."

[135] Gerbier writes to Sec. Lord Conway from the Hague on the $\frac{5}{15}$ Sept. 1627, that "Rubens is at Brussels, and ought soon to explain himself."

French ships would sail with the first wind, which doubtless they will not fail to take advantage of. Since then, I have received a packet from Rubens, and inasmuch as it pleased you some time past to honour me with your commands, among other things, as to what his Majesty had seen had been said to the Ambassador of Savoy on the part of Spain, and by the writings of Rubens, I have thought it my duty to render you an account, until I have the happiness to inform you more fully by word of mouth. I will say then, that the game is at an end, although, according to all their protestations and the correspondence of other Ministers, all bordering upon the appearance of truth, the Infanta, the Marquis, the Ambassador Mirabel at Paris, and this Don Diego, the pretended Messiah even, have all had a very sincere will, but which passing through pestilential places, has left health or life behind. See then the effect of time, a metamorphosis, not of Ovid, but of the Cardinal, who knew so well how to crown himself with the red cap, upon his faith, upon his holy cross, to render the government of England odious and contemptible through the tales of the Père Berulle, now a Devil in Cardinal, who has made them believe that England can be conquered in six months, if France should enter into a strict league with Spain. So at last behold everything overturned having reference to this treaty, upon which, through the letters and journeys of Rubens, I have been kept here so long. The Count d'Olivares, more fiery than ever, who, nevertheless, as appears by letters from Rubens, the Doctors on their side, Political as well as Ecclesiastical, ridicule with open mouths. They point out the great error that Spain commits, in thinking to make good harmony out of discord. These are the maxims of a new microscope, which is in chaos in the brains of the Cardinal, who never approached his ruin so nearly as by this action. Rubens says it is well known that these two nations will agree like Fire and Water, that it is an artifice of the Cardinal to create fear, that this league between Spain and France will be like thunder without lightning, which will make a noise in the air without producing any effect, for it is a compound of divers tempers brought together in a single body against their nature and constitution, and more by passion than reason. He observes how this Messias becomes an Apostate, is greatly disabused of several things, since he is drawn into this league with France, and that it has been noticed since the Cardinal caught the Ambassador of Holland resident at Paris, and gave him a lesson in letter-

writing, that the Signor Don Diego finds himself sufficiently embarrassed, but that as regards a further answer at present touching this Treaty between Spain and England, he cannot alter the orders received from Spain. Behold, then, in place of a Messias, the reverse of the Medal, coined by shabby gownsmen, (prêtrailles); it is believed that if affairs alter, "Monsieur il Rodomont d'Olivares" will see his fault, and will be very glad to do what ought not to have been put off till the morrow. This may be seen by the same words of Rubens, who hopes, in the letters, copies of which I send you, that the way already began and traced out may always be left open, since he does not attach any prejudice or disadvantage to Acts of War. Seeing then that men are so far removed from Peace, we must hope for it from God, who will give it in His own due time, and we must expect that from this resolve necessary evils will arise. I keep the Original Letters that Rubens sent me until my return, hoping it may please you to report this business to his Majesty; and if I have not been so fortunate as to succeed happily in this business, it is not through want of zeal and devotion.

Remaining, my Lord,

Your very humble, and very obedient servant,

B. Gerbier.

The Ambassador of Savoy leaves here for England in eight or ten days.

LXXXV. LORD CARLETON TO SEC. LORD CONWAY. (*Extract.*)

Right Honorable my Noble L^{p}: *Hagh, Sept.* 15, 1627.

* * * * *

Yesterday about noone, Gerbier having sent me from Delft *such lres* he mett wth there, in his way to Roterdam, from Rubens (*of w^{ch} the copyes goe herewth*). I tooke occasion of the chiefe point in them (w^{ch} yo^{r} L^{p} will find underlyned) to require the States to hold an extraordinary Assembly in the afternoone, and to give me audience.

* * * * *

Y^{r} L^{ps}

most humble servant,

D. Carleton.

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A. No. XI.]

[*Endorsed by Gerbier,—"Copy of the Answer made by the Sieur Rubens, by order of his Masters, received at the Hague, September* $\frac{14}{24}$.]

LXXXVI. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Antwerp, September $\frac{8}{18}$, 1627.

Monsieur Gerbier:

Your letter of the 6th of this month has arrived, and has been taken in good part, but touching the answer you require to your writing of the 9th March, it is thought, that as you remain on your side in the resolution contained in the said writing, and wish to include all in one as you have reiterated to me, it is thought for the present the business cannot be proceeded with, *because the arrival of the Lord Don Diego Mexia has enlightened us on the union of the Kings of Spain and France for the defence of their kingdoms.*[136] Nevertheless, the Infanta has not altered her opinion, but is in the same mind to continue the like offices to effect her good intentions; her Highness desiring nothing in this world so much as the repose of the King her nephew, and a good peace for the public welfare, to which the Marquis, also, will on his part give all the assistance he is able for the success of so good a work, if on the part of England the like is done. Our correspondence shall be kept up with vigour, and we will give each other the necessary advices as opportunities offer. Upon which, expecting to hear from you, I commend myself to your good favour, ever remaining

Sir,

Your very humble
And affectionate Servant,
Peter Paul Rubens.

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A. No. XII.]

[*Indorsed by Gerbier,—"Another letter on the same subject, but written in confidence."*]

LXXXVII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Antwerp, September $\frac{8}{18}$, 1627.

Sir:

The answer which I herewith send you is all that can be done

[136] The passages printed in italics in this and the three following letters from Rubens are underlined by Lord Carleton.

in this conjuncture. It was written by the advice of the Infanta and the Marquis, having been seen and approved by the Lord Don Diego Mexia, to whom a copy was given with that of yours of the 6th of this month to send all together to Spain. I have been, since the receipt of yours of the 6th,[137] constantly at Brussels, having received the last on my return the 10th September [31st August, o.s.], I have treated, by order of my masters, frankly with Don Diego, and can assure you that they are much grieved at the resolution taken in Spain, notwithstanding all their efforts to the contrary, neither do they dissimulate their opinion, but make their perseverance therein apparent, not only to Don Diego but in Spain itself. *We believe that these Leagues will be like thunder without lightning, which will make a noise in the air without producing any effect, for it is a compound of divers tempers brought together in a single body against their nature and constitution, more by passion than reason.* All "Gens d'Esprit," and those well affected to the public good, are of our way of thinking, and, above all, her Highness and the Marquis. The same Don Diego has recommended me to keep up our correspondence with vigour, saying that affairs of state are subject to much inconvenience and that they easily change. He has disabused himself of several things since his arrival here. As to myself, this bad success is a great regret to me quite contrary to our good intentions, but my conscience acquits me of having failed in all sincerity and industry to endeavour to bring everything to a good end, if God had not ordained otherwise. Neither can I complain of my masters, who have honoured me with a strict communication of their intimate intentions in affairs of such importance. I cannot believe that they on your side will ridicule us or our insufficiency, or distrust me, since my masters will not abandon the business, but always persist in the same intention without any feint or surprise, not being willing to adopt any artifice whatever, for they do not pretend by these means to throw cold water on, or hold in suspense, any effect or exploit of war on your side. I pray God to employ us more successfully in future, and in this and all other occasions to have you in His holy keeping, and me in your good favour, who am and ever shall be

Your most humble and affectionate Servant,

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

[137] I regret that I do not find this letter in the State Paper Office.

[*Translated from the Flemish, which see in Appendix* A. No. XIII.]

[*Indorsed by Gerbier,—"Third letter which he wrote to me in Flemish."*]

LXXXVIII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Antwerp, September $\frac{8}{18}$, 1627.

SIR:

I BEG of you to believe that I have done all I can, and to remark that my masters are very eager in the business, considering themselves piqued and affronted by the Count d'Olivares, whose passion carried everything in reason and consideration before it, as I have observed by the discourses of Don Diego himself, albeit he tried to conceal it. Don Diego and the whole Council of Spain were of our opinion, but this Head has guided and insisted upon everything according to his fancy; they are scourges from God, who carry out his works by such means. So many things have been represented to Don Diego that he begins to waver, and is much embarrassed; the perfidy of France has been pressed upon him, and the assistance which the King of France promptly renders to the States, and which he would, if he could, give to the King of Denmark, that even France scoffs at our simplicity, and seeks only by this mask the assistance of Spain to force England to an accommodation which will follow thereupon. These proposals and discourses the Infanta and the Marquis have even forced me to relate to Don Diego himself, the which I have done with great ardour and liberty, not without effect, but the business is at an end, and the orders received from Spain cannot be altered. I will not deceive you under pretext of friendship, but speak the truth openly; the Infanta and the Marquis are resolved to continue our Treaty, being of opinion that the "Concerts" between France and Spain will have no effect, and will not last, so that every wise man, be he a politician or a priest, laughs at it; notwithstanding so long a time has elapsed, we do not see any proofs; no change can be promised, and some time must elapse before we can hope that Olivares will open his eyes and agree to it, perhaps on easier terms, when it is too late; if it pleases you, in the meantime, to keep the business in question between us in motion and my Lord of Buckingham in good humour, it cannot but do good. We do not pretend by that to hinder or retard the acts of war, having no artifice or desire to keep you longer in suspense away from your master and your wife, which

has been done until now with very good intention and appearance of saying that that shall be what we are striving for. Meanwhile we advise those that can do so, to keep the Duke vigorous, and the treaty firm. I send you the enclosed to my Lord the Duke for your discharge and mine, I know nothing further that I can do therein; leaving myself to my own conscience and the will of God. In magnis voluisse sat est Diis aliter visum est. I beg you to give my humble recommendations to Lord Carleton, and to assure him of my service and affection, and herewith I commend myself to you with my heart, henceforward remaining for ever

Sir, &c.,

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

I have just received your last of the 14th, and my answer must be, that I shall avail myself of your advice where it may be well employed.

As to the Cabinet, about which I had written to you, it is unnecessary to advise further, for I can obtain no licence to make the journey; the matter is also somewhat relaxed, and in case it goes on, I may buy the pictures on my own account.

The pictures of my Lord Duke are quite ready; it would be the best for Mons. le Blon to give the commission, and that he should send some one over expressly; in lack of any other opportunity, I will immediately consign them to him, and assist him to procure a passage, on this side, but there must be a letter from you desiring it.[138] I recommend to you my passport to the Low Countries.

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A. No. XIV.]

LXXXIX. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Antwerp, September $\frac{8}{18}$, 1627.

MY LORD:

IF I were as fortunate in, as I am well affected to the business which Your Excellency entrusted me with, it would be in a better state. I call God to witness that I have proceeded sincerely, and that I have neither written nor said anything but in conformity with the good will, and by the express order of my masters, who have done all their duty would allow, and all that was in their

[138] See ante, p. 65, note 109, p. 70 and p. 84.

power to terminate the business successfully, but private passions gave way to reason. Notwithstanding also that success throughout has been contrary, they persevere in their opinion, and do not alter their mind at the caprice of fortune. But (wise and experienced in the affairs of the world, and considering the volubility of another, and how many changes affairs of state are subject to) are resolved not to abandon the treaty, to which effect they ordered me to write and inform Gerbier, an intimation to continue the same offices for the success of this good work. I beseech you to believe, my Lord, that there is no artifice in their proceedings, but that they have the utmost zeal and affection for the common good; this is without prejudice to the exploits of war on either side, or to any delay of others under that pretext. If your Excellency is of the same opinion, I shall be glad to hear from you through Gerbier, we having corresponded so long away from you with the hope of success. I beseech your Excellency, notwithstanding the iniquity of the time, to keep me in your good favour, and to believe that no change of fortune or violence of public destiny, will be able to separate my affections from your very humble service, to which I have dedicated myself, and vowed once for ever to be,

My Lord,
Your very humble,
And very obliged Servant,
PETER PAUL RUBENS.

XC. LORD CARLETON TO SEC. LORD CONWAY. (*Extract*).

RIGHT HONORABLE MY NOBLE L^{D}: *Hague, Sept.* 19, 1627.

* * * * *

What yssue Rubens busines is come unto yo^{r} L^{p} will find by my last dispatch by Captayne Sackville & a lr̄e I sent yo^{r} L^{p} from Gerbier the day following by the ordinary of Delft so as y^{t} requires no longer attendance, & other affaires will fare the worse for attending these mens leasure.

* * * * *

Y^{r} L^{ps}
most humble servant,
D. CARLETON.

The four preceding letters from Rubens to Gerbier and to the

Duke of Buckingham, brought the Negotiation, which had lasted eight months, (viz., from 13th February to 15th September, 1627) to a stand still, as appears by Lord Carleton's letter of the 19th September, and also the King's commands through Secretary Conway, on the 4th October, to recall Gerbier.

XCI. SEC. LORD CONWAY TO B. GERBIER.

S^R^: *Hampton Court, October* 4, 1627.

His Ma^tie^ hath bene made acquainted from tyme to tyme w^th^ the advertisements and accounts given by yo^u^ hither touching the Treatie on foote by Rubens, and hath thereby seene yo^r^ diligence, zeale, and care, in his service, w^ch^ his Ma^tie^ approves and takes well. But since yo^r^ last lres shew that by the great default of the Ministers on the other side there can bee nothing expected by that Treatie: His Ma^te^ thinkes it agreable to his hono^r^ and service to suspend any further proceedings in that treatie. And therefore there being noe further occasion of yo^r^ service or attendance ther about the same, yo^u^ may take yo^r^ first oppertunitie to come away w^th^out spending more tyme there, if noe particular comandments for the service of yo^r^ gratious Lord and Master the Duke stay you. This is that w^ch^ his Ma^tie^ hath comaunded mee to signifie unto you, and in expectation of yo^r^ arrivall here, and a free comunication of all things w^th^ yo^r^ selfe, I wish yow a good passage, and remaine y^r^,

Ed. Conway.

[*Translated from the Italian,*[139] *which see in Appendix* A. No. XV.]

XCII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [M. DUPUY.]?

Antwerp, December $\frac{6}{16}$, 1627.

Most Illustrious and Esteemed Sir:

Our Don Sadriquez de Toledo is arrived, though as a succour after war, and will very soon return, as it is not likely that he will winter at Morbihan. They augur badly of our ships of Dunkirk, the greater part not having appeared up to the present time, and of those which were returned three are stranded by the fury of the

[139] The original is in the British Museum, Addit. MSS. 21, 514, Art. 4. It was purchased at the sale of Autograph Letters belonging to the late H. Belward Ray, Esq., in July, 1856, for 8*l.* 10*s.*

wind in that same port of Mardyck rendered notorious by frequent shipwrecks. The Baron de Wacken, a noted Flemish knight, who armed five ships at his own expense, has fallen in with the Hollanders; they have taken two and sunk two more, so that he has but one left. Our Marquis Spinola is preparing for his voyage, and within a few days will follow his baggage, and it is thought that he will depart soon after Christmas. I have seen letters from England which state that that King and the Duke of Buckingham are most enraged against the French, and have already begun to prepare another armament. All the fault of their ill-success is attributed to the delay of succours from England by contrary winds, the Duke not having more than 3000 foot and fifty horse left him when he was compelled to retreat from the Isle of Rhé. Notwithstanding, if I am not deceived, the King of France will make himself master of Rochelle and will laugh at these threats. Here they are doing but little, and at Zantvliet[139a] the winds have made more havoc and inflicted more loss on both sides than war. Having nothing further I kiss your own and your brother's hands and commend myself to your good favour.

Your most illustrious Lordships'
Most affectionate servant,
PETER PAUL RUBENS.

[*Translated from the Italian*,[140] *which see in Appendix* A, No. XVI.]

XCIII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [M. DUPUY.]?

Antwerp, December $\frac{20}{30}$, 1627.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND ESTEEMED SIR:

THE triumph of Paris speaks with certainty, and shows upon good grounds the great extent of the defeat of the English, although they are anxious to cover their losses and disgrace as much as they can. I have seen letters from London written by persons of quality, for the purpose of publication, filled with what seem to me the most impudent falsehoods, exalting the extraordinary valour of their general, and praising his retreat as a heroic action, and diminishing the number of their slain in that skirmish to 250; so that we must presume that these forty-four ensigns were borne

[139a] Zantvliet, a fort on the north side of the Scheldt, below Antwerp.

[140] The original is in the British Museum, Addit. MSS. 18,741, Art. 38. It was formerly in the collection of Mons. A. Donnadieu, at whose sale in August, 1851, it was purchased for 5*l*. 7*s*. 6*d*.

on a wagon and so taken together with the baggage, or that their ensign bearers had all surrendered without striking a blow, because forty-four companies are but a moderate army, though greater than 3000, which they say there were in all. I believe that an accord would easily follow if Rochelle were taken, because then the scruple of the English in abandoning it would no longer exist. Our Lords the Marquises Spinola and Leganes, it is said, will depart to-morrow, but I cannot think they will commence their voyage on the last or the first of the year; may be they will tarry till the third or fourth of January. For the rest we have no news of moment. At Zantvliet they go on repairing everywhere the loss suffered in their fortifications by the late tempest; the Prince of Orange has also forbidden the further conveyance of victuals to our camp, which come in, however, under-hand, though in a less quantity. I thank you for the letters of M. Balsac, which I hope to receive in good time. I have read with attention his Censor, which proves, not only by the most graceful and learned reasoning, but by his own style, how well he realizes the power of eloquence. But, finally, some sentences of Balsac taken and translated from the ancient authors do not offend me, nor do I consider him reprehensible for such plagiarism. I would I could think of anything in which I could serve you, and kissing your hands in all humility I recommend myself to your good favour, and pray heaven to grant yourself and brother a most happy new year, from

Your most illustrious Lordships'
Most affectionate Servant,
Peter Paul Rubens.

I will use diligence to procure from Holland, if it be possible, those books of Cardan and Grotius, and thank you for the advice.

The Infanta Isabella and her Prime Minister, the Marquis Spinola, who had seen the miserable effects of the war, were still bent on the Treaty, and used all their influence with the Spanish Court to bring it about. Spinola went to Madrid, and Rubens was directed to keep up his correspondence with Gerbier after the latter was recalled to England. The papers which follow will clearly exhibit the able conduct of the diplomatist, who, through the untiring zeal of the Court of Brussels, with the tardy consent

of Spain, brought these negotiations to a successful termination.

[*Translated from the French.*]

XCIV.

Upon Gerbier's return to England [in October, 1627], Rubens continued writing to him to keep up the correspondence; Gerbier answered he believed that the business was at an end, that he had been recalled, after remaining four months in Holland without any satisfaction, except that the agreement between the two Kings had put a stop to the business.

Rubens replied, and then wrote to the ambassador of Savoy, complaining that Gerbier would not deign to answer his letters, that he had resolved not to write again, but that his resolution was changed through a letter he had received from the Marquis Spinola before his departure from Brussels for Spain, pressing upon Rubens to write to Gerbier, when they would declare themselves according to the command he had received from his masters, and to that end sent the copy of the letter which he had received from the Marquis Spinola.

[*Translated from the Spanish.*]

XCV. THE MARQUIS SPINOLA TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

Brussels, December $\frac{11}{21}$, 1627.

I have received your Excellency's paper of the 17th inst., also that which came with it from the Abbé de Scaglia.[141] Her Highness having seen both has directed me to tell you to answer the Signor Abbé and particularly the Signor Gerbier that she will give me orders that in Spain, whither I depart in two or three days, I may inform the King our master of all that has passed, and learn his royal will, in order that afterwards you may have notice what to make known to the said Gerbier, when this discourse may be brought forward. You know how much her Highness desires

[141] Sec. Lord Conway writes to Sir Isaac Wake at Venice, November 9, 1627:— "The Abbé de Scaglia mediates a peace with good judgement and discretion, framing his propositions to suit well with H. M. honor and service. But without some motions from France that Treaty is not like to find any greate advancement."

they should agree, and gives me orders conformably to use diligence; and you, Sir, who know how I have ever held this opinion, will judge well what there is to manage. Yet, as to them, two things I think will be necessary, one, that these gentlemen declare a little more or less, the form on which they think they can agree, the second, that when any one thinks of agreeing with another, it is well to propose a thing that is much to the purpose, that thus they may agree, so that if these gentlemen propound a form suitable for the King our master, they may be sure I shall have more ease in persuading him to it, and, consequently, the discourse will take effect. May God preserve you many years.

AMBROSIO SPINOLA.

Upon this Gerbier wrote two letters, the one in a familiar, the other in the usual style, as follows:—

[*Translated from the French.*]

XCVI. B. GERBIER TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

SIR: [*London*], *February* 18, 1627-8.

I DID not receive your letter of the 21st [11th] December until the 14th February, it having been retarded by contrary winds and accidents which happened to the bearer who left it at the Hague, with his corpse also, for he is dead. I understand by your letter that the Marquis Spinola is about to start for Spain; many think the journey must be on very important business. People reason according to the conclusions they have formed, mine lead me to believe the most important was that which could give repose to Christianity. Nevertheless, I neither pretend to prophecy, nor do I envy the opinions of others when they are received in preference to mine, except when they are prejudicial to the good of affairs, as have been the arguments many have made use of, upon the answer I reported after a stay of four months in Holland. As to the Duke my master, truth and duty oblige me to say that he is one of those who, by their own probity and virtue, judge of others, never having departed from the opinion he has always held of the sincerity and pious intention of the Infanta, and of the generosity of the Marquis Spinola, well knowing the agreement between the two Kings could neither change true maxims, alter the course of the stars, nor agree with contrary elements.

The inclination that the Duke has always had to contribute to the advancement, the repose, and the good of Christianity, is in the same proportion it was from the beginning of the discourse we held together. I can assure you that he kept the King my master in the same opinion, and that he will ever reciprocate all the good wishes your masters may have for the advancement of so good and salutary a business. All that I can do is to wish that, having been put into the cradle in its birth, it will not there find its tomb, and that the Marquis on his return may have powers which will make it grow to perfection, and proportionately more advantageous to Christianity, which I wish in particular.

Sir, &c., &c.

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

[*Copy of the Familiar Letter on the same subject and of the same date.*]

XCVII. B. GERBIER TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

Sir: [*London*], *February* 18, 1627-8.

The news I received of the Marquis Spinola's journey into Spain gives me some sort of hope, knowing as I do his *bon esprit* and the thorough knowledge he has of the state of affairs, that he will conduct them better than others have, more particularly with respect to what we have done together. I must confess to you that I am not one of those who think much of this agreement between the two Kings, retaining still in my memory the stories my good father used often to relate to me by the fire-side, that these Nations were like two opposite elements which could never subsist together. As to Spain, she had always been governed by prudent persons, who have no other rule or maxim but what is in accordance with the good of the state; that in this perfect code of maxims they change not oftener than the stars do their course. This constant form which Spain adheres to, made me have as much faith in the news reported about the agreement between the two Kings, as is due to old women's Almanacs. I know I have not the gift of prophecy, but I am of opinion that if those who are in Spain had felt the burden of the wars in Flanders as the Marquis has, they would not have advised this agreement. The Marquis knows very well that this war in the Netherlands is like war against fish and water; of land they have none, of castles and revenues they have none, other than their ships, the harvests

and gatherings they make are all at the expense of the King of Spain. They are a people so addicted to gain, that they respect the substance and pay no attention to the shadow; those who are the best accommodated resemble the monks and the arbitrators, who neither expose themselves to blows nor any other combats but those with bottles and plates; the populace yields invariably to those who have the most *d'esprit*, as a horse allows himself to be guided by the bridle, mixture of religion having caused a great neutrality, inasmuch as they who offer them good terms before there is any necessity, will find them perfectly untractable.

And as on your side they are so much inclined to build a golden bridge for their enemies, reason teaches us that for those who have this pious intention, there is some advantage. You ought to work miracles since they are frequent near you, for you cannot doubt the constant resolution of the King of Great Britain and the generous will of the Duke, who has not lost the perfect esteem he had for the sincerity of your masters. How much has my stay of four months in Holland and my return, given occasion to lessen the esteem which was founded on your assurances and on the probity of the Messias, who has been overcome by the prayers of Cardinal Richelieu; but if Don Diego had remembered what is said in Holy Writ, that the devil often transforms himself into an angel of light to seduce the elect, he would have come out of it without transformation, or without being caught by deceitful appearances which have retarded this great, good, and holy business. If the Marquis can, nevertheless, bring on his return ample powers, I do not despair, not only of treating but of concluding, if you on your side wish to be at peace; otherwise they are as words and air. Allow me to tell you that you cannot be ignorant that "when any one thinks of agreeing with another, it is well to propose a thing that is much to the purpose, that thus they may agree," which words, I say, ought to be repeated on your side as well as on ours; you cannot have good music without harmony. You confessed when you visited me in Holland that we should come to black and white, reason and equity required reciprocity, but you allowed me to return without answer, leaving me excuses that the agreement between the two Kings would not allow of other things at present: and now you say that on the return of the Marquis, this agreement, which all wise men laughed at, is of no consideration. Adieu. I am, Sir, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

After the Marquis Spinola's arrival in Spain, Rubens again writes to Gerbier, and sends a letter for the Duke as follows :—

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A, No. XVII.]

XCVIII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Antwerp, March $\frac{8}{18}$, 1627-8.

My Lord:

I would not fail in my duty to your Excellency and the public good, to advertise you that the Marquis Spinola wrote to me from Madrid on the 3rd of this month (22nd February, O.S.); that he finds in His Catholic Majesty a very good disposition to make peace with those with whom he is at war. This is saying enough to a willing hearer. If your Excellency continues in your good and holy intention to procure as you can, on your side, this public good, it will be necessary to give me the means also of assuring the Marquis, during his stay at the Court of Spain, which will be brief, his presence being very necessary in the Netherlands. I beseech you, my Lord, to do me the honour to send me a word of answer and to keep me in your good graces, not having in this world any other wish than to be while I live,

My Lord, &c.,

Peter Paul Rubens.

Rubens had written letters dated the 10th February to the Duke of Buckingham and to Gerbier,[142] to draw forth a resolution of the Duke's disposition with respect to the business; the said letters were sent by one named Josias de Vosberghen, agent for the King of Denmark in Holland, who had made some propositions in Brabant on the part of the King of Denmark, but it was afterwards discovered that he had no orders to do so. On the 8th March Rubens wrote to him as follows :—

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A, No. XVIII.]

XCIX. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO JOSIAS DE VOSBERGHEN.[143]

Antwerp, March $\frac{8}{18}$, 1627-8.

Sir:

I have received an answer from the Marquis Spinola, dated

[142] I do not find these letters in the State Paper Office.

[143] "Dovor. Landed from Callis the 20th of February, 1627-8. Josias Vosbergen,

Madrid, the 3rd of this month [N. S.], which was expedited by the first Extraordinary sent after his arrival there. Our letters of the 11th February are received, and agreeable to His Excellency, but he says he has no foundation to treat upon, until you obtain your full powers in good form to treat in the business mentioned in the papers delivered. Further, the Marquis writes me these particular words. *It is very certain that His Catholic Majesty has a good disposition to make peace with those with whom he is at war,* so you may be assured there is a great change in a very little time, which should be taken advantage of during the stay of the Marquis at the Court of Spain, otherwise no good will come of it; he is prompt in these expeditions, and will overcome by his diligence all delays, for his presence is necessary in the Netherlands, so that what is done must be quickly done; and having nothing else, I commend myself to your good favour, always remaining, &c.,

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

[*Copy of the little Mem. apart.*]

SIR:

I CANNOT but advertise you that I have discovered that the Treaty with Mons. Van de Wouvere [144] advances, who in consequence has been dispatched to Spain with great hopes of success. The business is conducted under the title *Principis feudataris*, by advice in confidence.

Then follows the answer sent to Rubens' letter of $\frac{8}{18}$ March, but on account of Gerbier's opinion that Rubens always endeavoured to draw letters from the Duke, so as to make it appear they were requisite, the Duke only writes to Gerbier, and orders him to reply to Rubens.

Resident at the Haige wth the States for the Kynge of Denmarke, and in his companey John Brand and Jaroll Moreis and two servantts." (See p. 115, note 148.) Boswell writes from the Hague, February $\frac{12}{22}$, 1632-3), "that he [Vosberghen] was sent by these States unto the Elector of Cologne to divide him from his relation to the House of Austria if he meant to have neutrality;" also, $\frac{\text{October } 23}{\text{November } 2}$, 1637, "Mons^{r} Vosbergen, a gentleman of known abilities and worth, goes presently away for France."

[144] John Vanden Wouwer, born in 1574, was descended from one of the most illustrious families in Antwerp. His parents sent him to the University of Louvain, where he resided in the house of Justus Lipsius. This eminent scholar contracted so firm an attachment towards his pupil, that he appointed him executor to his will, confiding to his care the vast accumulation of his unpublished manuscripts. On leaving college he travelled over France, Italy, Germany, and Spain. Soon after his return to Flanders, his talents and integrity recommended him to the notice of the Archduke Albert, who summoned him to Brussels, appointed him a member of his

[*Translated from the French.*]

C. THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO B. GERBIER.

GERBIER: *April* 4, 1628.

I HAVE received your intelligence, and as you write me that the Man of Ross [145] starts for Flanders, about the prisoners, you can by this opportunity assure the Sieur Rubens of the disposition on this side towards the business which has passed between you; so that while the Marquis Spinola is in Spain, he may take advantage of the time. You will be able to write fully to Rubens, so that he may have no doubt with respect to our inclination; otherwise he might delay performing his duty in this business for the good of all, so that when he is despatched to Spain he may make it known, that when we see ample powers, we will proceed at once, leaving you to acquit yourself punctually with the rest.

BUCKINGHAM.

Upon this order Gerbier wrote to Rubens,[146] and assured him of the good inclination on the part of England. At this point the business rested. The Sieur Rubens is sent into Spain, from whence Gerbier expects news from him.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CI. B. GERBIER TO LORD CARLETON.[147]

SIR: [*London*], *April* 5, 1628.

THIS bearer will acquaint you with the good news of the good

council and to offices of considerable trust. The Infanta Isabella sent him on a mission to Madrid [in 1628] where the King of Spain conferred on him the honour of knighthood. He died in 1635. He edited two series of the letters of Justus Lipsius, and also editions of Tacitus and Seneca.—"Carpenter's Pictorial Notices of Van Dyck," p. 123.

[145] Hugh Ross, a Scotchman, was employed in Flanders by King Charles I. for the general release of His Majesty's subjects who were prisoners in the King of Spain's dominions.

[146] I do not find this letter in the State Paper Office.

[147] On the 20th April King Charles I. wrote a holograph letter to Lord Carleton, recalling him, as follows:—"Carleton, I have commanded Carlile to tell you that after you have assist him in those things that he hes to doe in my service there, you cannot returne suner then ye shall be welcome: this I have thought good to wryte to you, bothe to put you out of doute what to doe, as lykwaise to asseure you that I esteeme you as a faithfull & able servant, having aquitted you of your employments accordinglie: so that ye may easlie belive that I am Your loving frend CHARLES R. Whythall the 20th of April, 1628."

success of the opening of Parliament, which has caused extreme joy to every one, as it hoped that the prayers of the *Gens de bien* will be favourably heard, and by this conjunction of the people and their prince, that the State will be rendered more considerable than heretofore, since this misunderstanding has hitherto been the stumbling block. If Monsieur Peter Paul Rubens has been in earnest, this good news will reanimate him. He always keeps to his old course, and is constantly endeavouring to make us speak. I believe I sent you a copy of the letter which the Marquis wrote to him, and which he sent to me by one named Josias Vosberghen, who is called Resident from the King of Denmark. I know not whether he is a creature of the said King, for he is a strange microcosm, who is, however, more of air than of earth. He introduced himself with the greatest facility in the world, which is natural to him, for he encounters no difficulty that he does not surmount; but not to conclude the narrative of this personage at the beginning, and think to make it known to him who can give intelligence with more experience, I will say that the Duke, after having been importuned by this Vosberghen, has thought proper to let you know his secret practices by Mons. Carleton your nephew; these propositions having passed through my hands (which were recommended by the Sieur Rubens). I will say that he was eager on his arrival to make great overtures of treaties; that he had been in communication with the Infanta, and on that account had come over to England, where he can throw great light not only on general, but on particular affairs, by finding expedients to make remarkable levies of several millions all in an instant. He requires only similar powers from England[148] to those he has from Denmark, to cause grand effects. To

[148] It will be seen by the following commission [translated from the French], that Josias de Vosberghen was authorised as a neutral person to treat with Spain for a truce or peace soon after Gerbier had written the above letter [Indorsed "Commission to treate with Spaine, 1628"]. Charles, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, Ireland, &c. To all those to whom these present concern, greeting, Whereas, we are always more inclined to a good peace than a bloody war for the common weal and ease of our subjects; and seeing that matters are treated more surely when done so secretly, and not to be thwarted by interested or jealous enemies, we have willed by our royal favour to authorise as by these presents we do authorise Josias de Vosbergen, resident of the King of Denmark, to treat (under our advice and approbation) with the King of Spain, or his ministers, for a truce or peace, as a neutral person, and employed before by others in similar affairs, leaving him in case of necessity power to choose some one from this kingdom to be joined with him. In testimony whereof we have signed this with our hand and thereto affixed our seal. Given at our court at Whitehall, April 1628.

contribute thereto I have not failed to give him all the requisite assistance according to his wish, though to speak the truth, I am of opinion that his alchemy will bring forth nothing but smoke, seeing the inconstancy of his mind (*esprit*) and of his imagination. I have continually pressed the said Vosberghen to perform miracles, and transport himself into Holland, there to bring about what he had projected, touching the levies of deniers[149] by subsidies from the States General as from other parties. He endeavoured to resort to subterfuge (no doubt discovering that his feat was not well founded), and having no further excuse, came one fine morning all in haste, as "Post haest, haest, for the King's service," and demanded to see My Lord the Duke; but not finding the way so smooth as in days gone by, he sends a letter, saying he must speak with him promptly, and that he must be heard by the King and the Duke only, for it imports the preservation of the King of Denmark and the King of Great Britain. Upon which the Duke, thinking some legions of armies had fallen like hail upon our coasts, gave him prompt access, and all he had to say was to show a letter from Rubens which he had kept in his pocket ten days after I had received from Rubens a packet of the same tenor, and of which I send you the copy. Mr. Carleton will also have the copy of the one he showed which Rubens had written to him in Flemish. Does this Arch-braggadocio, Sir, give vent to all these extravagances that his great ignorance and indiscretion may not be observed. His journey to Brabant cannot but have been very disadvantageous to all those who endeavour to preserve their reputation; the said Vosberghen having enlarged in ample discourse, upon which Rubens, either through finesse or good faith, has taken advantage, and hastened to Spain, pressing me, on his invitation, to forget all up to this point. He says that we must declare ourselves more fully, in order to make it appear that propositions come from our side quite useless when the parties have no powers. The said Vosberghen engaging, also, by these reports, certain parties which doubtless do not understand the fact as he imagines, or as he explains it. For finding himself listened to, though little credited, he has resorted to cunning in the hopes of breeding jealousy; and says the eagerness of the Prince of Orange was so great for an accommodation, that doubtless he would carry matters to such a pitch,

[149] A denier is the twelfth part ot a penny.

that they would not wait for their companion; one of those who prefer rather to be alone in Paradise than in company elsewhere. That to this effect he knew there were secret treaties, and finally wished to give more weight to these reasons by a little Memoire that Rubens sent him, in which he speaks of a treaty being on foot by Mons. de Wouvere, the last words of which are, *Het wert ghedreven op den Tytel Principis Feudatarii.* [The words *Principis Feudatarii* were set forth in the title.] You may judge if they will ever understand one another on that subject. My Lord the Duke having considered that these discourses might be prejudicial to the Prince of Orange, and might cause jealousies, has thought it necessary to give you intelligence of them, for he takes great interest in what concerns the Prince as much personally as publicly, his interest being so considerable, that in the answers made by your advice to the overtures of Rubens, it has been stated that the King of Great Britain would be willing to come to a good accommodation provided the interests of the States-General were taken into consideration, as well as the interests of the King of Bohemia and of the King of Denmark.

Mr. Carleton will make you understand the rest of this business. I have written these principal annotations and the character of this personnage to acquit myself of my duty and to divert you from great matters to little ones, until I can be honoured with your commands as,

Sir, Your Excellency's
Very humble and very obedient Servant,
B. Gerbier.

CII. EARL OF CARLISLE[150] TO SEC. LORD CONWAY. (*Extract.*)

Antwerp, May $\frac{18}{28}$, 1628.

Right Honourable:

* * * * *

Yesterday towards evening I came into this towne: where I

[150] James Hay, first Baron Hay of Sauley, was sent by James I., 1st March, 1616, to congratulate the French king on his marriage, and also "to treat of certain other affairs of weight and consequence." Sherburne writes to Carleton, 25th April, 1617, "My L: Hay is not yet gon after his Ma^tie, his vaine hope in obtayning my L. of Northumberland's daughter, being y^e cheife cause of his stay; w^ch he prosecutes w^th all violence. And notw^thstanding my L: of Northumberland hath her a Prisoner w^th him in the Tower, yet such effect & force hath love, as sometyme my L: Hay & y^e young Lady do meete togeather: My L: of Northumberland doth much scorne y^e matche, and yet the young Lady is very well affected that way as it is reported & so is y^e Countesse her Mother." This lady, however, became his second wife, and on

finde Don Carlos de Colomma [151] and Ruben gone to Bruxelles the day before my comeing hether: I will not say of purpose in them-

November 7, 1617, Sherburne again writes to Carleton, "Yesterday my L. Hay was married to my L. of Northumberland's daughter, and a greate feast was made by him at the wardrobe where his Ma^tie did supp to do his L. honor, and so did the Prince, my L. of Buck. and many other Lords and Ladies."—"The famous character of Lucy Percy, Countess of Carlisle," is prefixed to a volume of Letters by Sir Toby Matthew. Created Viscount Doncaster, July 5, 1618, he was sent Ambassador to the Elector Palatine in May, 1619, and on June 27, Prince Charles writes from Greenwich, "Doncaster, I am verrie glad to heer that my Brother is of so rype a judgement and of so forward an inclination to the good of Christedume as I fynd by you he is; you may assure your selfe I will be glade, not onlie to assiste him with my countenance but also with my person if the King my Father will give me leave: For the seconde part of your letter, I assure you I lyke it verrie well, I hope you shall fynde your oulde frend (the Marquise of Neuechattell) of the same opinion ye laste lefte him in, if not I would he wer. The Spanyards intertaines us still with faire opes of real proceeding, if they deal honnestlie it's weall, housoever we will looke narrowlie to them that they disseave us not; Don-diego is not on his jurney to cume from Spaine yet. So assuring you I will stoppe my eares, lyke the Serpente, if they be inchanters. I rest Your assured frende, Charles P." He was sent ambassador to France in July, 1620. On July 30, 1622, Trumbull writes from Brussells to Carleton at the Hague, "My L. of Doncaster departed from Paris the $\frac{12}{22}$ of this Instant and w^thout all doubt, is long before this tyme arryved in England. His journey and all his travells have proved fruitles." He was created Earl of Carlisle, September 13, 1622, and went to Spain in May, 1623, with the patent creating Buckingham a Duke. Was again ambassador to France in 1624 to negotiate jointly with Lord Kensington afterwards Earl of Holland, the marriage of Prince Charles with Henrietta Maria. Sec. Lord Conway writes to Sir Isaac Wake at Venice on March 26, 1628, "The Earle of Carlile is now upon his dispatch, within a few dayes hee passeth through the Lowe Countryes, to Lorraine, to Turin and very likely to Venice." On April 14, 1628, King Charles I. signed instructions for the Earl of Carlisle and Lord Carleton, "Ambassadors Extraordinary to Holland." Sir Dudley Carleton (nephew to Lord Dorchester) writes in September, 1628, that Lord Carlisle was ill of a tertian fever at Venice. The three following letters written by King Charles himself to the Earl of Carlisle, will be read with great interest. The first is dated from "Hamton Court the 1 of October 1628. Carlile, My last by John Woode mentioned two ouvertures of Peace from France, they wer bothe lyke the people from whence they came, of no waight and not to be trusted unto & that by the Venetian Ambassador w^ch I thought most fitt to bee harkned unto, I found most reason to reject; for I found the intent of that, to bee, ether to delay or disharten my fleete, w^ch I hope by this tyme, hes made an overture, ether to force a Peace, or to maintaine a prosporus Warr, so being late I referr you to my Lo. Tresorers letter and rest your loving constant Frend, Charles R." The second is addressed to him at Turin, and is dated from "Whythale the 24 of No: 1628. Carlile. I have more reason to quarell you, for giving so credulus an eare (as I perseave ye have done by your letters) to those skandales of Mountagues bace propositions of Peace, then you have to have so muche as a halfe belife that I could ether be so bace, or else so poorlie cheated of my honnor by unworthie Councell; but I will spare you, because I am sure before this tyme, you have asked me pardon in your hart, for being so neere suspecting mee, of so greate a Villanie & that ye have cleered my honnor to all Italie. You will have so good an account of our businesses heere by the Tresorer &

[151] Don Carlos de Colonna was appointed by the king of Spain ambassador to England in 1629, to conclude the peace between the two crowns, which was signed on $\frac{5}{15}$ November, 1630.

selves, or by comande of others; though so suddaine a retraict (of both together) may perswade mee to suspect the same. But the reasons heerof, with my conjectures upon the same, as likewise what it shall produce I shall not faille to certifie yo^r Lord^p by an Expres before I leave this place.

* * * * *

Yo^r Lord^ps most humble
and most faithful servant,
CARLILE.

[*Indorsed by L^d Carleton,—"My L^d of Carlile's Dispatch to My L^d Duke."*]

CIII. THE EARL OF CARLISLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

(*Extracts.*)

MY MOST NOBLE LORD: *Brussels, May* 27, 1628.

AT my comeing unto Antwerp (upon saturday the 17 May curr^t), I fownd that Don Carlos de Coloma, and Mons^r Rubin[152] were out of towne, gone the day before unto Bruxelles; as I signified in my former dispatche (of 18 past) unto my Lord Conaway. The day following after dinner, taking occasion to see some curiosities at Mons^r Van-digs [Van Dyck], I met Mons^r Rubin there, newly returned from Bruxelles; which I knew not of, until that instant. But because I would loose no tyme, the morning

my Lo. Conway, that I shall referr you to them, onlie I must give you some grass [grace] by telling you, that I lyke bothe your opinion and courage of the businesses you have handled at this tyme, so, that every day I am the more confirmed in being Your constant loving frend, CHARLES R."; and the third is dated from "Tibols the 16 of Decem. 1628. Carlile, I shall say littel at this tyme, because I expect to see you shortlie; onlie if ye cum by the Hage, I hould it as unfitt yet that ye should discover to my Brother & Sister & the Prince of Orange all the particulars of the Embrion Treatie that wee have with Spaine, as to bee holie silent, therfor ye shall doe well (onlie in generall) to take notice to them, that ther is that in agitation that may produce a Treatie with Spaine, w^ch when it comes to anie rypnes, they shall have an account of; asseuring them, that I shall doe nothing in it without having a principall care of ther good & asking ther consent & councells: If ye cum by Brucelles ye know alreddie what to say there, therfor I will conclude in saing haste you home to Your constant loving frend, CHARLES R." He returned to England in January, 1629, and died at his lodgings at Whitehall, April 25, 1636.

[152] A letter written by Peter Paul Rubens, dated Antwerp, $\frac{13}{23}$ June, 1628, formerly in the collection of Mons^r A. Donnadieu, was sold by auction in August, 1851, for 4*l.* 18*s.*, and is thus described in the catalogue:—"He looks upon Rochelle as irrevocably lost, notwithstanding all the efforts of the English to prevent its capitulating to the army of the king of France (Louis XIII). . . . . The ill feeling entertained by the English towards Spain is considerably abated. They are daily augmenting their fleet, and are gradually rendering themselves masters of the other hemisphere."—Holograph Letter, 2 pages folio [in Italian].

after my comeing thether, I sent a Gentlem. *unto the Duches de Cruy* with *lettres of the Queene unto de Queene*,[153] and an expression of my greif, that I could not have the liberty and honour to acquit myself in person of that service *theither*, knowing how I was forbidden to come to Bruxelles.[154] Whereunto *she returned* answer *by message and lettres* the prohibition, and excluding of mee from Bruxelles, as your Lor^ps *may see by that inclosed* which I leave unto yo^r Lor^ps *perusall*. Mons^r Rubin employed the best of his wittes, the residue of that afternoon (when I met him) to discover my inclination towards Bruxelles, withall bewraying a great and gr̃all desire on that part of my coming thether; which I fownde also trew by many other hands: on my part haveing discovered thus much in him, I resolved to make him plainly aske mee the question (Whether I would goe to Bruxelles or no?) and so without approaching nearer to this purpose, after supper wee parted for that night.

The next morning [May 19] againe very early he came unto mee, before I was ready, and then directly asked mee whether or no I would goe to Bruxelles? Wherunto I answered, that his question seemed strange unto mee, because himself knew, That by his pen I was discharged from goeing thether; a thing I wondered, could escape the wisedome of th' Infanta & the M. Spinola; since without any hazard, they might have had much honour & advantage therby. But it well resembled (so I told him) all the other proceedings of Spaine with K. James (of Bl^d Memory) and his Ma^ty my most Gr: Soveraigne: For presently after he (M^r. Rubin) had made a prop^on and overture of peace, Don Diego de Mexia tooke occasion to make a league with France (their ancient enemies by nature & necessity of state) against us, with whom they offred to treat; a work as false and foolishe as ever nation was guilty of. In like sort, haveing graunted mee a gr̃all

[153] This most probably means from Queen Henrietta Maria to her mother, Marie de Medicis. *The passages printed in Italics are in the original in cypher, decyphered by Gerbier.*

[154] "Reasons perswading or disswading his L^rs going to Bruxelles from Antwerp," from which the following are extracts:—

Disswading—2. *Advantage given to Spaine.* To say That his L^p went y^t way, by the way, if not to beg, yet to entertaine a Treaty of peace. Response—Rubens lr̃e betrayes & testifyes the contrary; y^e Intreaty, if any, being on their part.

Perswading—9. *Consideration of Rubin,* who may undeservedly suffer by his L^p refusing to goe: wheras he hath demeaned himself w^th as much sincerity &^c as any man w^th safety &^c could. [This paper is dated May 1, 1628, and is in the handwriting of William Boswell, Secretary to Lord Carlisle, and subsequently King Charles I.'s resident at the Hague.]

Passeport, which was an act of courtesie, they prẽntly restrayned mee from Bruxelles, and offred to valewe themselves by it unto France, for so they have done. Wherby haveing somewhat astonished him, I told him farther, that for demonstracõn that they doe but still doe, as they have formerly done, I myself could well remember. In the first place, that after the King of Spaine had twise begged a peace of the King of England, and was twise refused, and the third time had obteyned it, upon condition the Treaty should be first made, & sworne in England, and after sworne in Spaine; for corroboration therof, a proposition was tendred & sollicited by themselves of a mariage, between the (then) Prince Henry and y^e^ first daughter of Spaine, who most perfidiously was afterwards given unto the French King: Secondly to repaire themselves, they made a second prop^on^ of mariage, between the second daughter, & the King my most Gr: Mast^r^, and with what artifices that infamouse treachery hath been caryed, I leave the world & God of justice to judge: th' Inheritance of my Mast^r's^ sister & her children, being taken away under colour of y^t^ Treaty, whilest himself in person went into Spaine to seek the Lady. At which Mons^r^ Rubin said, That his Ma^ties^ brother in lawe, with his party had beeu th' Incendiaries, & brought this misery upon themselves. Nay, said I, that Spaine and her complices were th' Incendiaries, I shall prove unto you, or let mee loose the credit of a freind & honest man. This accordingly I proved with so many demonstracõns as he said, he much wondred how I came to knowledge of so many of their secret papers. It would be tediouse to repeat the particulars, because better knowne unto yo^r^ Lord^p^ then myself: after which he smileing said, he could say no more then, si ius violandum, regnandi causâ violandum. Wherunto I said, but now compare these proceedings with yo^r^ last, How under pretence of treating a frendship, you have combined with our pr̃ent but yo^r^ eternall enemy, & haveing given mee a gr̃all Passeport, you restrayne mee afterwards from comeing to Bruxelles; the one contrary to all honesty, the other contrary to civility, discretion, & yo^r^ owne advantage: *he confesset that the Marquis Spignole and Don Diego Messias did both blush and abhoret that act of Don Diego Messias*,[155] and that the sole cause of my being debarred from

[155] Gerbier has not decyphered this passage with care, it should read "that the Infanta and the Marquis Spinola did both blush and abhor that act of Don Diego Messias."

Bruxelles was to keep secret from France the Treaty of Peace they intended with us, and for feare that Spaine should suddainly think that it was wholly concluded (a man of such quality as my self comeing thether); which answers I made appeare to be of so small force, and so impertinent, as he seemed very much to greive at the cariage of these things, and made mee believe that (for his particular) nothing but good intentions & sincerity have been in his heart: which on my soul I think is trew, because in other things I finde him a reall man, *and as well affectet to the King of England's service as the King of Spaine can deseyer.* Heer Mons^r^ Rubin added, for assurance of their sincerity, That *the Marquis ded sent a dispatch de saime day from Spayne*, which he himself (Rubin) had sent unto yo^r^ L^p^ in England; wherin for his part he thought there was nothing but reality, & that wee should trust unto nothing, but visible effects. Of this yo^r^ Lord^p^ is best able to judge, haveing *the dispatche* in yo^r^ owne hands. I shall only put yo^r^ L^p^ in minde, that for certaine *Spaine doth much desire a peace with the King of England* for many and pressing reasons.

* * * * *

After this Conference w^th^ Mr. Rubin (staying in Antwerp two or three dayes longer, in expectac̃on of advise from Lorrayne how to direct my course thether with security), I was assured from diverse other good hands, That the Principall Officers of State, & most men of quality had declared great desires of seeing mee at Bruxelles, which they durst not have done without knowing such desire also to be in y^e^ Infanta; yet haveing taken a resolution to decline that way, I persisted in the same, until I was upon point of my departure: and that Mons^r^ Rubin by particular direction & commande of her Highnes, (as he hath promised to certifie under his hand, unto y^r^ L^p^ by this Gentlem: bearer) came unto mee (at his second returne from Bruxelles) and told mee, Que la Ser^me^ Infante luy avoit commandé me dire, qu'elle seroit bien aisée de me veoir a Brussells, pour renouveller l'ancienne amitié de Marymont & pour me tesmoigner combien Elle m'aimoit & estimoit, Et pour cest' effect ordre estoit donné de meubler la maisson des Extraord^res^ comme pour les Amb^rs^ de l'Emper^r^ ou du Roy d'Espagne.[156] Wherunto he added that persons of prime quality were

[156] That Her Serene Highness the Infanta had commanded him to tell me that she would be very glad to see me at Brussels to renew the ancient amity of Marimont, and to testify to me how much she loved and esteemed me; and to this effect order

also appointed for my reception before entrance into towne, and barques coñanded to attend at Antwerp for conveighance of myself & company with o^r^ cariages thether. This message was seconded wi^th^ visits of the Castellano[157] & the magistrats of the Citty, who, first excusing themselves for haveing been so backward in this tendre of their service (which they durst not undertake before they had direcõn) with it entreated mee to contribute what depended on mee, & with my best endeavours to dispose his Ma^ty^ (my Gr: Sover^gne^) unto a Publiq^e^ peace, & to the ꝑticul^r^ good & honour of their citty, which would ever remayne a most faithfull acknowledger of favours received in that behalf. This was followed with an ample pr̃ent of wine and many other respects. I had almost omitted to tell yo^r^ L^p^, that Mons^r^ Rubin had many times asked mee very earnestly s'il estoit possible que Mons^r^ le Co. de Carlile scauroit refuser *a eune princesse quy luy auroit fait une faulte* de la recognoistre & luy faire reparation,[158] with diverse other particulars which would be tediouse to y^r^ Lor^ps^ eye, and therfor I remit unto the relation of this bearer, for whose secrecy, honesty, & discretion, I will answer, as for my self.

Upon these premisses I suffered my self to fall into consideration, How this Invitacõn on thInfanta's part, enforced with so many circumstances of good affection, and delivered by the same hand and party (Mons^r^ Rubin) who had sent my discharge into England, was a reason above all exception, and resistance to lead mee unto Bruxelles : because it wholly removed the Prohibition (cheif cause of my not going y^t^ way) and would ever be (if accepted of by mee) an argument that thInfanta made the first offre of an accoñodacõn, and spake as farre, and as much for it as possibly in honour & wisedome her High^s^ could for the first entry into a Treaty, if his Ma^ties^ occasions should heerafter require the same.

* * * * *

I take leave and rest
Yo^r^ Grace's
most faithfull freind
and humblest servant,
CARLILE.

was given to furnish the house of the Extraordinaries [Ambassadors] as for the Ambasadors of the Emperor or the King of Spain.

157 The Governor of the Castle.

158 If it were possible that the Count de Carlisle could refuse a Princess who had committed a fault but acknowledged it, and would make him reparation.

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A. No. XIX.]

CIV. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [THE EARL OF CARLISLE.]

Madrid, January $\frac{20}{30}$, 1628-9.

My Lord:

I have received your very agreeable letter of the 27th November by the Abbé Scaglia, your great friend and servant, who was very welcome and received at this Court, as I had always assured him, by my letters, he would be. I hope we shall soon see the effects of his worth and prudence, and that the interests of the Kings our Masters will be made inseparable, and their reputation and glory so united that there will remain no scruple between their servants in serving either the one or the other. Under any circumstances, I shall, with all my heart, always remain what I profess to be

My Lord, your Excellency's
Very humble, very affectionate,
And very obliged Servant,
Peter Paul Rubens.

I regret not having had the happiness to be able to render you my little assistance on your journey to Brussels, though I am well assured that others more important and accomplished than I am, worthily acquitted themselves in serving and honouring you, as belongs to your merit and quality, and according to the very good intention of the Infanta, my Mistress.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CV. ABBÉ DE SCAGLIA TO [THE EARL OF CARLISLE.] (*Extract.*)

Madrid, April $\frac{18}{28}$, 1629.

Sir:

I received the honour of your letter of the 26th of February, and according to what the King of Great Britain desires, they are well disposed here to all that I had to procure, and even, as a greater proof, the Conde d'Olivares has resolved to send the Sieur Rubens to testify the disposition there is here to the business, as you will know by himself. The Conde d'Olivares is greatly obliged for what I said to him on your behalf, he wishes

the friendship of the Kings may give more hope of seeing you again. As to Rubens personally, you know of old how well-affected he is to the business, and how much he has contributed to it, as being well-informed and held in great esteem and credit by his Masters. This is why I am very glad of his election, and I am assured you will do him the honour to receive him according to his particular merit, besides the consideration of the merit of him who sends him on this occasion.

* * * * *

Sir, your very humble
And very obedient Servant,
A. DE SCAGLIA.

SIR:

The King of Spain, the more to qualify the Sieur Rubens, and to give the greater reputation to his negociation, has declared him Secretary of his Privy Council, a reason why his Majesty should esteem him the more and yourself also.

A. DE SCAGLIA.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CVI. ABBÉ DE SCAGLIA TO [B. GERBIER.]? (*Extract.*)

[*Madrid*], *April* $\frac{18}{28}$, 1629.

IT will be for you, Sir, to do on this occasion, what must not escape us, and is expected from your prudence. You will learn from the Sieur Barozi, and more particularly from the Sieur Rubens, how things are proceeding for a suspension of arms. This, it is known, will not add more to the reputation of the King of Great Britain, nor be of more advantage to his affairs and his friends, than, on this occasion, to engage Spain against France and oblige her to reasonable conditions.

* * * * *

A. DE SCAGLIA.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CVII. DON CARLOS DE COLONNA TO [THE EARL OF CARLISLE.]

Brussels, May $\frac{10}{20}$, 1629.

SIR:

SINCE I received your last, in which you were pleased to inform

me of your safe arrival in England, I have been very anxious to hear from you, to have many opportunities to be employed in your service, and to be honoured with your commands. I will believe, although no opportunity has arisen to give me this happiness, being well assured that you place me in the rank of your very humble servants, and seeing, on this side, that we repute you to be one of the most impassioned in the service and agreement of our good Kings, that accident has now traced one out, and that perhaps their Majesties may employ one of us in this cause. I entreat you to believe that on this, and on every occasion, I will serve you with a hearty will and a very sincere affection, and as Peter Paul Rubens goes to your Court, you will hear for what purpose, I take advantage of his doing so, to renew my offer of service to you, and to beg of you very humbly to favour the said Rubens with that courtesy, which is so natural to you. This will be an additional obligation conferred upon me, and which I will repay most heartily whenever opportunities arise throughout my life.

Sir, your very humble
And very obedient Servant,
Don Carlos de Colonna.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CVIII. M. DE BAROZZI[159] TO [THE EARL OF CARLISLE.]

London, May $\frac{17}{27}$, 1629.

My Lord:

I have just received, at 5 o'clock this evening, a packet from Mons. Rubens by an express messenger, in which I found the enclosed for your Excellency. He is impatiently waiting at Dunkirk for a ship and a passport. M. l'Abbé [De Scaglia] commands me particularly to recommend him to your Excellency, and writes to me that Rubens comes with good expedition; to-morrow morning I will, with the bearer of the packet, wait upon your Excellency.

[159] On January 26, 1628-9, Sec. Lord Dorchester writes:—"Sig' Barozzi Secret^rie of the Duke of Savoy arrived by way of Dunkirk." Sir Is. Wake writes from Turin, $\frac{\text{September } 24}{\text{October } 4}$, 1629, to Dorchester:—"Sec. Barozzi is a Creature of the Ab. Scaglia of whom I am not much edifyed here, and notwithstanding the good opinion that some in our Court have of his honesty and dexterity, I doubt that in the end he will not fully answer their expectation." Dorchester replies [November 18]:—"Touching Barozzi's old Master, the Ab. Scaglia, you & I meete in opinion."

Meanwhile, I entreat you very humbly to discuss the business with his Majesty, if you have an opportunity, so that no time may be lost, and the bearer, as he wishes, return with despatch to-morrow evening. I beseech you to excuse my continual importunity, and I remain, my Lord, your Excellency's

Very humble and very obedient Servant,

De Barozzi.

CIX. HUGH ROSS[160] TO [WILLIAM BOSWELL.]? (*Extract.*)

Dunquerquen, May $\frac{18}{28}$, 1629.

Rycht Worschipfull and Noble Sir:

Pleis Monsieur Reubines is heir at Dunquerquen and attendis for ane schip of sum force to bring him from hence to Ingland, for his order is not to hazerd his commission nor his messives except that it be in ane schip of Ingland, for hie is mychtilie affrayit of the Hollanderis, and except ane schip cum to resave him heir hie is of intentioun to retoune abak, hie only dois exspect heir for ane resoluit ansueir. Withe the first fair wind the schip may cum befoir Dunquerquen or to the fort and send yeir boit aschoir and I will bring Monsieur Reubines aboord of the schip. Zour honour sall reseive the incloisit and delyver the ans^r^ theirof to my servant Oliver Ross, who will sendit saiffly to my handis, exspecting to heir when the schip shalbe heir that I may gif hir attendance. * * *

Zour honouris most humble and affectionat serviteur,

Hughe Ross of Ballamouchy.

CX.[161] KING CHARLES I^ST^ TO THE EARL OF HOLLAND.[162]

Holland: [*May*, 1629.]

This is onlie to bid you tell Mr. de Ville that if he bee not content to goe in my shipp to Dunkerke although it should

[160] See ante, p. 114, note 145.

[161] This letter, which is undated, is entirely in the hand of the King.

[162] Henry Rich, second son of Robert, Earl of Warwick, created Baron of Kensington, March 3, 1622, was sent by James I. to Spain, in 1623, when Prince Charles was over there, and to France in February, 1624, "on special business," to sound the French Court as to the marriage of Prince Charles with the Princess Henrietta Maria. He was created Earl of Holland on September 24, 1624; received instructions, jointly with the Duke of Buckingham, as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Hague, October 15, 1625; and was attached to the Court during the reign of King

retarde his jurney sume howers that I will complaine of him to Rosabella, for if hee goe not in my shipp Rubens jurney will eather be hindered, or I shall ly open to almost a just exception to those that ar no frends to this Treatie. So going to sleepe I rest

Your loving constant frende,

CHARLES R.

CXI. DUDLEY CARLETON[163] TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HONO^BLE MY VERY SINGULAR GOOD L^D: *Hagh, May*, 18, 1629.

* * * *

Advertisement wee have here of Rubens arrivall at Bruxells and his suddaine passage from thence into England by Dunkerk, w^th overtures seconding those Inclinations to a good peace and accord betwixt his Ma^ty together w^th his allies, and the K: of Spaine and the adherents to that Crowne (w^ch have bin now these two yeeres pursued in generall termes), but (as wee heare) are at present brought unto certaine heads and articles, befitting a Treaty:

* * * *

I shall ever rest Y^r L^ps

most humbly and most faithfully devoted,

DUDLEY CARLETON.

* * * *

CXII. SEC. LORD DORCHESTER TO DUDLEY CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

GOOD NEPHEW: *Greenwich, May* 27, 1629.

* * * *

Rubens is likewise arrived, but what he brings as yet appeares not. * * * *

I rest, &c.

DORCHESTER.

Charles I. On December 3, 1639, a warrant was issued "to Sir James Palmer Kn^t Gov. of his Ma^es workes for making of Hangings at Mortlake to sell unto the Earle of Holland 5 peeces of Hangings of the story of the Apostles being of the second sort, for the some of £886. 17. 6. being the price his Ma^te allowed for the same." He was beheaded by the Parliamentarians in 1649.

[163] Dudley Carleton of Holcomb, nephew to Secretary Lord Viscount Dorchester, was sworn one of the clerks of H. M. Council Extraordinary, August 21, 1623. He was knighted at Newmarket on March 1, 1629-30, being the next knight made by Charles I. after Sir Peter Paul Rubens. He acted as the King's agent returning to and from the Hague, where he was joined with William Boswell in a special mission in August, 1632, and returned to England on the 9th November following.

The preceding correspondence shows Michel to be in error when he affirms (p. 165) that Rubens arrived at Madrid in September, 1627, where, after remaining eighteen months, he received his credentials and instructions for England, and reached London in October 1629. Rubens did not go to Spain until certainly *after* 19th June, 1628,[164] as appears by his letter written from Antwerp of that date (see note 152, p. 119), but he writes from Madrid on $\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{0}$ January, 1629 [ante p. 124] to Lord Carlisle, acknowledging the receipt of his lordship's letter of 27th November, 1628.

It was during his stay in Spain that he wrote to his friend Dr. Gevaerts,[165] charging him to watch over his son Albert; "I entreat you to place my little Albert as my Image, not in your Oratory, nor in your Infirmary, but in your Museum. I love that child, and I recommend him to you in a serious manner, to you the chief of my friends, the Priest of the Muses, to take the greatest care of him, with my father-in-law, my brother-in-law Brandt, both while I live and after my death." [166]

About this time, John Duke of Braganza, afterwards King of Portugal,[167] protector of the arts and sciences, wrote to Rubens inviting him to Villaviciosa. Rubens accepted the honour, and set forward with a large train of attendants. The King alarmed at the expense of so costly a visitor, despatched a messenger, begging him to defer his visit, and sending at the same time a purse of

[164] Smith also (p. 36), says, that Rubens arrived at Madrid in September, 1627. Alfred Michiels, in "Rubens et l'ecole d'Anvers" (p. 161), says, Rubens started for Spain the end of August, or the beginning of September 1628.

[165] John Gaspar Gevartius (Gevaerts), a most distinguished Flemish Philosopher, and the friend of the most celebrated men of the day, was born at Antwerp in 1593. His father was one of those who concluded the twelve years' truce in 1609 between Spain and the United Provinces. He first studied at Antwerp in the Jesuits College, then at Louvain and Douai, from thence he went to Paris. On his return to Antwerp he was named Secretary of the City, and the Emperor Ferdinand III. appointed him Councillor of State and Historiographer. He died in his native city in 1666, aged seventy-three. He was singularly well versed in the annals of his country, and it is to be regretted that his History of the Dukes of Brabant was not published. (Biog. Universelle, tom. xvii. p. 264.) His portrait by Rubens, engraved by P. Pontius when about the age of forty-five, was, in 1830, in the possession of Baron de Roos, of Brussels,—described in Smith's Cat. Rais. vol. ii. p. 264, as worth 600 guineas.

[166] The original letter is dated $\frac{19}{29}$ December, 1628, see Em. Gachet, "Lettres inédites de Rubens," p. 223.

[167] John IV., Duke of Braganza, was born March 19, 1604. The Portuguese weary of the Spanish yoke resolved, on the Catalans rebelling, to recover their liberty, and unanimously proclaimed John their king on December 1, 1640. He was crowned at Lisbon on the 15th of the same month, and died November 6, 1656, aged fifty-two. (Anderson's Royal Genealogies, p. 719.)

fifty pistoles to recompense Rubens for the time he had lost. Rubens would not receive this present, saying, that he had not come to paint pictures, but to amuse himself for eight or ten days at Villaviciosa, and had brought with him 1000 pistoles to spend during his visit.[168]

On the 27th of April, 1629, Rubens left Spain, and on the 12th of May arrived at Paris.[169] From thence he went to Brussels, stayed a few days at Antwerp, and embarked at Dunkirk for London, which he reached between the 20th and 27th of May, 1629,[170] in company with his brother-in-law Henry Brandt and several attendants.

The correspondence which follows, concerning the mission of Rubens to England is scanty; but the nature of his employment is clearly shown. He was not an Ambassador from Philip IV., with powers to negotiate a peace between England and Spain,[171] but ambassador from the Archduchess Isabella, to sound King Charles, ascertain his views, and pave the way for a peace, "the chief subject of whose employment was his Proposition of a Suspension of Arms."[172] Considerable delay ensued, through certain punctilios, before ambassadors were dispatched from either England or Spain. Sir Francis Cottington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Ambassador from England, did not arrive at Madrid until the middle of December, 1629; nor did Don Carlos de Colonna, the Ambassador from Spain, have his public audience of the King and Queen of England at the Banqueting House, Whitehall, until the 6th January, 1630.[173]

Great delay, it will be remarked, ensued before peace was concluded with Spain, although the Infanta Isabella, the Marquis Spinola and Rubens, appear throughout the correspondence, from the year 1627, to have been most anxious for it. This delay was, however, no doubt caused by the personal hatred of the Conde

[168] Descamps, tom. i. p. 300, relates this anecdote as having taken place on Rubens' first visit to Spain in 1605; Michel, p. 169; Alf. Michiels, p. 163-4, at this period.

[169] Alf. Michiels, p. 164.

[170] Smith is in error when he says (p. 38) that Rubens only arrived in London in October, 1629.

[171] T. Meautys writes to Jane Lady Bacon in June, 1629,—"You will, peradventure, hear speach of an ambassador arrived here from the Arch Duchesse, but it is onely Rubens, the famous painter, appearing onely in his own quality; and Jerbir (Gerbier) the Duke's painter, master of the ceremonies to entertaine him." ("The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis," p. 201.)

[172] See Sec. Lord Dorchester's letter of March 21, 1630, p. 148.

[173] See Lord Dorchester's letter, p. 142. His credentials from the *Infanta Isabella* are dated from Brussels, $\frac{19}{29}$ December, 1629.

d'Olivares, who ruled the affairs of Spain, to the Duke of Buckingham; for immediately after the Duke's assassination in August, 1628, Rubens set out for Spain, and negotiations commenced which happily ended in a peace being concluded and signed at Madrid on the $\frac{5}{15}$ November, 1630.[174]

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXIII. M. DE BAROZZI TO THE EARL OF CARLISLE.

My Lord: [*London, May*], 1629.

Your Excellency will hear through Monsieur Rubens the reason of his coming to the Court [of England]. It is very necessary for the Business and for His Majesty's service, as also for the reputation of those interested and who are mixed up in it, that the ambassador who shall be fixed upon to go into Spain, should start without waiting for any answer from thence, inasmuch as he is expected, and will be welcome. Besides, it is requisite that I should, on my departure, carry the news to my master, of the certainty of this Business; and above all that Mons. l'Abbé [Scaglia] for many reasons be comprised with the other to conclude. I shall have the honour of seeing your Excellency in two days. Meanwhile, I remain,

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,

De Barozzi.

CXIV. D. CARLETON TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

Right Hono^ble my very singular good L^d: *Hagh, June* 11, 1629.

* * * * *

Joachimi[175] hath written hither that although Rubens be come, he hath brought w^th him no letter of credence, nor the lest thing authenticall or substantiall; and yet that there are great ones, that mainetaine him in countenance, and will needes make some thing out of no thing. But if this be so, I do wonder at a letter I have had from S^r Henry Vane of the second of this present, wherein he gives me notice, that Rubens being arrived, he doth

[174] Alf. Michiels, p. 166, says, the peace between the two crowns was signed December 17, 1629. He is certainly in error.

[175] Sir Albert Joachimi was the Ambassador from the States of the United Provinces, in England.

think he should be here againe wthin a moneth or six weekes at the furthest. I will hope y^{r} L^{ps} next will give me some light of those misteries w^{ch} the Mynisters of the K. of Denmark catch hold of, and alleage for reason of their shutting up a peace so secrettly wth the Emp^{r} that his Ma^{ty} had began a Treaty wth Spaine, and in likelyhood would make a peace before them.

* * * * *

Y^{r} L^{ps} most devoted Servant,
DUDLEY CARLETON.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXV. ABBE DE SCAGLIA TO [EARL OF CARLISLE.] (*Extract.*)

Madrid, June $\frac{13}{23}$, 1629.

SIR:

* * * * *

As to myself, I saw by your last of the 27th April the honour conferred upon me by the King of Great Britain, which I should neither deserve nor hope for, but that I assure you I cannot serve the Prince of Piedmont with more affection and fidelity than I always shall have for the service of the King of Great Britain, and that I shall call myself your slave all my life for the benefits I have received at your hands in making me a servant to so great a king and so good a master. As to the Business, I am expecting a despatch in answer to that taken by Mons. Rubens, which I hope the person appointed to come here will bring with him. I shall then start for Italy,[176] and perhaps have the happiness to see you, as it may be even requisite for you to make a good journey for the accomplishment of this Business.

* * * * *

who has the honor to be, Sir,
Your very humble
And very obedient Servant,
A. DE SCAGLIA.

[176] Sir Isaac Wake writes from Turin on $\frac{6}{16}$ August, 1629,—"The Abbate Scaglia is expected here dayly, and it is thought that he will be able to prepare His Highness to treat with the Marquis Spinola."

CXVI. SEC. LORD DORCHESTER TO SIR ISAAC WAKE. (*Extract.*)

My very good Lo[D]: *June* 22, 1629.

* * * * *

Barozzi doth attend here to receive answere of such letters he writes upon this occasion, and I beleeve it is in expectation to bee confermed here till the comming of the Spannish Amb[r]. Meane while Rubens stayes here likewise, and Cize[177] makes no hast away, who had good lucke to stay behinde Barozzi on Tuesday last [16th June], when in shooting London Bridge he had his boate overturned by the frightfull stirring of one of his companye, a churchman,[178] as then imployed to Rubens from Brussells, whome Barozzi was conducting to Greenwich and was there drowned. Barozzi himself being hardly saved at his third and last coming up to the top of the water by one of his spurres. Your acquaintance little Oliver who was one of that companie went up and downe like a Divedapper, and at length was taken up neare the Towre.

* * * * *

I wish yo[r] Lo[p] health with all happines ever resting, &c.

Dorchester.

CXVII. SIR ISAAC WAKE[179] TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

Right Honorable my singuler good Lord: *Turin*, $\frac{June\ 24}{July\ 4}$, 1629.

* * * * *

Concerning y[e] negotiation begunne by y[e] Abbate Scaglia & now pursued in England by Rubins, his Hig[ns] doth not know what

[177] Sec. Lord Dorchester writes to Sir Isaac Wake, August 11, 1629,—"Came to Woking the Sec. Barozzi with Cize, the Prince of Piemont's Gentleman, the first with copy of your Overture touching the restitution of Susa upon promise of passage for the French thro' Savoy and Piemont for which His Majesty should be caution, the second with news of Madame's [sister to Queen Henrietta Maria] safe delivery."

[178] The churchman probably was Rubens' chaplain. The word is struck out in the original draft corrected by Lord Dorchester.

[179] Sir Isaac Wake, the son of Arthur Wake of Jersey, was born about the year 1575. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford; obtained a fellowship in 1598; and in 1604 was chosen public orator of the University. In 1609 he travelled through France and Italy. In August, 1610, Sir John Digby recommended him as secretary to Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador at Venice, who on March 16, 1614-5, writes from Turin to King James I.,—"I have thought it expedient to dispatch my Secretary to give Y[r] Ma[ty] full relation of the state of these affairs." He, however, returned to Turin the following month; and when Carleton was recalled in the September following, remained behind as agent with the Duke of Savoy until November, 1618,

to say, wondering much at the delayes of y^e^ Spanyards & beginning to suspect their coldnesse: Rubins hath complayned unto Baroci of y^e^ little satisfaction he hath receaved in England, but his High^s^ doth much approve of y^e^ answer returned by his Ma^tie^ unto his proposition, w^ch^ he doth account to be not onely impertinent, but contrary unto y^t^ w^ch^ had been signifyed unto him by y^e^ Abbate Scaglia, who had alwayes protested against a suspension of armes & perpetually insisted upon a categorricall conclusion of peace: It is not possible for his High^s^ to assist his Ma^tie^ w^th^ any Counsell in this important businesse, for really *rebus sic stantibus*, he doth not know how to governe himselfe, expecting dayly y^e^

when "he makes speed towards England." He was knighted by King James I., at Royston, on April 9, 1619; sent to Germany on a special mission to the Elector Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth, and writes from Heideberg, May 12, 1619, "where he made so much hast to come," that he "rested in no place more then a night betwixt London and this Towne"; and again from Turin on the $\frac{5}{15}$ June, following. He married Anna, daughter of Sir John Tracy and widow of Edmund Bray, afterwards married to Secretary Conway, who calls Wake in his despatches, "My worthy and most estemed sonne," ending "Yo^r^ Lo^ps^ loveing father, frend, and servant." There is a most touching and affectionate letter in the S. P. O., dated November 11, 1627, from Anna, Lady Wake, to her step-father, written in consequence of "the phisitians sentance of her approaching end," in which she says,—"When Nature threttens the aproche of y^e^ exsicusions of her laste duty, we begine to thinke how to sett ourselves straite both with God and Man," and returns her "humble acknowlagementes & unfained thankes for y^t^ extreordinary fatherly goodnes & mersie which y^u^ have exersised upon me ever scence my infansie." She, however, survived her husband, and is mentioned in Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, who styles her "Sister Wacke." (4to London, 1854, Camd. Soc.) as alive up to July 2, 1641. In 1625, Sir Isaac Wake sat as Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford, and his speeches added considerably to his reputation. In a list of extraordinaries from November, 1625, to May, 1626, he is styled,—"Ambassador in Italy, Switzerland, and the Grisons." He was recalled on December 5, 1629, "to go to France," but did not arrive at Paris until $\frac{3}{13}$ April, 1631. His last despatch is dated from Paris, $\frac{13}{23}$ May, 1632, and De Vic and Augier write to Secretary Coke from Paris on $\frac{\text{May } 31}{\text{June } 10}$, following,—"Wee have prepared you for those worser newes wee are now to sende you of his Lo^ps^ departure out of this into a better worlde betweene 11 and 12 of the clock this morning." His body was opened and embalmed at Paris the next day, in accordance with King Charles I.'s commands; transported into England "in a manner befittinge his quality and yet without pompe or immoderate expences" on Friday, $\frac{\text{June } 29}{\text{July } 9}$, following, and interred in the chapel at Dover Castle. His funeral expenses were paid by the king, who had intended him to fill the place of Secretary of State, vacant through the death of Lord Dorchester. The following letter from Secretary Sir John Coke to Sir Isaac Wake, written four days after his death, is dated Greenwich, June 4, 1632, "My Lord. His Ma^te^ is much trobled w^th^ the news of your sickness: & w^thal^ expresseth both a gratious affection towards you, and an ernest desire to heare of your recoverie. Hee hath therfore comanded mee to write, not only for a true information of your present state of bodie, but cheifly to comfort you w^th^ the assurance of his favor & to incourage you to take care of your health, w^ch^ hee wil accompt the best service you can do him, til it shal please God to strengthen you for your accustomed imployments. Make use of this cordial to restore your spirits. I wil pray hartily for you & so I rest Your Lordships assured frend and servant, JOHN COKE."

Marquis Spinola (who is suspected as a Genoese) & the Abbate Scaglia, whose credit is something weakened, by his having so confidently assured many things on y^e^ behalfe of y^e^ Spanyards who have fayled in performance, as Clausel hath to his cost found at Milan (where he hath got nothing but palabras [180]) & M. de Soubize in England, where Rubins hath payed him w^th^ monny of y^e^ same alloye: These omissions in such important occasions, do make his Hig^hs^ suspect y^t^ y^e^ Spanyards do not proceed sincerely, & although he is content to suspend his judgement untill y^e^ coming of y^e^ Marquis & y^e^ Abbot, yet knowing y^t^ y^e^ Spanyards do envy at his retayning Trin & y^e^ Canavese, he doth doubt y^t^ some secreate agreement is underhand treating betwixt France & Spayne to y^e^ prejudice of all y^t^ are interessed in y^e^ publique libertye.

* * * * *

I take leave and rest

Y^r^ L^ps^ most humble & most obedient servant,

I. Wake.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXVIII. B. GERBIER TO [SEC. LORD DORCHESTER]?

Sir: *From Your House in the Strand, July* 3, 1629.

I had no sooner received the Brevet, signed by the hand of the King, and had sent it to the Privy Seal Office, than intelligence was given to Madame the Duchess, who pretends that Sir Robert Pye [181] said there was an impediment to it, which is not in

[180] Talk—a Spanish word in common use in England during the reign of Elizabeth. It will be found in Shakspeare and other dramatists. See Boswell's Shakspeare, v. 358; Collier's Shakspeare, ed. 1858, ii. 443.

[181] Sir Robert Pye one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, 1620—1624, was knighted by King James I., at Theobald's, on July 13, 1621. He was appointed in 1626 one of the (eleven) Commissioners to advance King Charles I.'s revenues. "There was a turbulent election of burgesses at Westminster, whereof the Duke [of Buckingham] being steward, made account he should, by his authority and vicinity, have put in Sir Robert Pye. It continued three days, and when Sir Robert Pye's party cried 'a Pye! a Pye! a Pye!' the adverse party would cry 'a pudding! a pudding! a pudding!' and others 'a lie! a lie! a lie!' In fine, Bradshaw, a brewer, and Maurice, a grocer, carried it from him by above a thousand voices."—"The Duke, before he went his fatal journey to Portsmouth made a will, wherein his executors are the Lord Savage, Sir Robert Pye, Mr. Oliver, and Mr. Fotherty, two of his servants." (Letters from Rev. Jos. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, Christ Colleg: March 8, 1627-8, and September 20, 1628; "Court and Times of Charles the First," pp. 327, 397.)

accordance with many fine words that she gave me, promising to fulfil in my case all that the late Lord Duke had intended, from whom I have received no other recompense and livelihood for twelve years service than this annuity, the old house in which I am lodged, and the keepership of York House, which is but servitude without profit, but which, nevertheless, I would not give up, because of receiving a public affront, and quitting another which belongs to me, holding it as a gage and in testimony of the opinion the late Lord Duke had of my fidelity, of which His Majesty has been benignly pleased to take notice. Being advertised by Sir Francis Cottington that Sir Robert Pye (one of the executors of the defunct Duke) pretended that I was incapable of possessing what it had pleased the Duke to give me, because I had not been naturalised, His Majesty provided against that by his Letters Patent, and by these last reinstated me in possession of all they pretended to take away from me. If Madame the Duchess, or those she is able to employ in her behalf, do not prevail over the authority of those who could retard it, this matter having been favourably carried so near perfection by your hand, I hope, Sir, they will not have the power to use the same, and take the bread out of the mouth of a large family; although they believe, what I may learn, that their grandeur can do that and much more, it is, nevertheless, very contrary to the title of Noble they bear, and would be too insupportable to a poor man, who, added to his ordinary charges, receives little assistance for extraordinaries, as those I have been put to on account of Monsieur de Ville, and have, at the present time, for the Sieur Rubens, for which I have received no consideration, and, I believe, as I am a man I am as far from receiving, as I am from ever asking any. All these are weighty reasons that you may have the good will to make happy, by conferring your favours on one of those who had the honour to serve this good Duke, and who was such to you. This is why, trusting in your generosity, I will assure myself that my opponents will not prevail to my disadvantage, hoping I shall always remain in your esteem as one of yours, being truly,

Sir, your very humble, very obedient,
And very obliged Servant,
B. Gerbier.

CXIX. SIR THOMAS EDMONDES[182] TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

My very good Lord: *Paris, July* 4, 1629.

* * * * *

I finde that they are here very jealous of Mons[r] Rubens negotiation in England, many havinge spoken to mee therof, to whome I have made answere, that his Ma[ty] cannot forbeare to hearken to propositions which, in a faire kinde, are made unto him, wherof hee will afterwards judge as they shall deserve.

* * * * *

Yo[r] Lo[ps] humble and most affectionate Servant,
T. Edmondes.

CXX. SIR ISAAC WAKE TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

Turin, July $\frac{8}{18}$, 1629.

Right Honorable my singuler good Lord:

* * * * *

This Treaty of Spayne being now divulged both by y[e] Venetian Amb[r] in England, and by y[e] open treating of Rubens in England, His Highness is of opinion that it will not be fit to conceale any longer from y[e] French Ministers y[t] w[ch] they do already knowe; and therfore for feare least they should quarrel w[th] him for his employing himselfe therein, he hath resolved to confesse it unto them freely & to let them know that y[e] Spanyards having desyred him, a yeare since & more, to mediate a peace betwixt y[e] two Crownes, he had at their request employed some Ministers of his, whose offices having found gratious acceptance of his Ma[tie], he had been incouraged to pursue y[t] negotiation, at w[ch] y[e] French could not justly formalize, in regard y[t] it was begunne long before any misunderstandings (w[ch] have since risen) betwixt France & Spayne were thought uppon.

* * * * *

Y[r] L[ps]
Most humble & most obedient Servant,
I. Wake.

[182] Sir Thomas Edmondes, of Devon, was knighted by King James I. at Greenwich, May 20, 1603. He was several times Ambassador to France during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.

On the 23rd September, 1629, during a visit paid to the University of Cambridge by Lord Holland, the Chancellor of the University, in company with Charles de l'Aubespine, Marquis de Châteauneuf, the French Ambassador, Peter Paul Rubens and Henry Brant, his brother-in-law, with a large number of noblemen and gentlemen, the honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on the great Flemish artist. The grace, passed on the 22nd September, by which Rubens and the other recipients of honorary degrees were admitted on the 23rd, was this "Conceditur ut Petrus Paulus Rubens, Belga; Petrus Angenon, Gallus; Renatus Le Febvre Gallus; Gulielmus Lambert, Gallus; Franciscus Chevallier, Gallus, and Henricus Brant, Belga; cöoptentur in ordinem Magistrorum in Artibus." In one of Baker's MS. (Harl. 7038) containing brief Annals of the University of Cambridge for the year 1629, the name of Rubens appears as a graduate. In Cooper's Annals, vol. iii., p. 219, is an amusing letter of 26 September, 1629, describing the reception of Lord Holland and the French Ambassador.

The Latin "speeche of the university oratour at Cambridge in the Regent House to the French Ambassador, when he commenced Doctor of Civil Lawe there," is in the State Paper Office.

[*In the handwriting of Sec. Lord Dorchester, corrected by King Chas. I.*]

CXXII. KING CHARLES I. TO SIR FRANCIS COTTINGTON.[184]

Whitehall, November 19, 1629.

Right trustie and well-beloved wee greete you well:

There is nothing we have in more special recomendation then punctually to observe owr Royal word and promise wth Princes

[184] Sir Francis Cottington was the fourth son of Philip Cottington, of Godmanston, Somersetshire. In 1609 he was Secretary to Sir Charles Cornwallis, Ambassador in Spain, who left him there in October; and by writ, dated November 13, 1609, he was allowed 20*s.* a-day as "His Majesties Agent with the King of Spain." He was one of the clerks of the Privy Council, as appears by a writ dated December 29, 1615, for 120*l.* 17*s.*—"for charges of transportation of himself, servants, &^{c} to Spain." He returned to England in 1622; was created Baronet on February 16, 1622-3; and a few days after accompanied Prince Charles, in the quality of Secretary, to Spain. He was sworn a Privy Councillor on November 13, 1628, and Chancellor of the Exchequer early in 1629. Succeeded Sir Walter Aston as Ambassador to Spain, October 2, 1629 [Warrant for his Commission is dated on this day], and arrived at Madrid about the middle of December. His letter of revocation is dated September 27, 1630; he left Madrid, January 29, 1630-1, and anchored in Portland Road on the 5th of March following; was created Baron Cottington of Hanworth,

towards whom we are that way obliged. This making us exspect the like faire and free dealing from others withowt change or alteration, is the cause of the expresse dispatch of this Currier (wth charge to make diligence, and meete wth you at y^{r} first arrival at Madril) springing from an unexpected delay of the cuñing of Don Carlos de Colonna; w^{ch} by advertisments from Bruxells, we understand to be excused; one while, by expectaõn of Instructions from Spaine, not yet arrived there, though looked for by the next Currier; an other while, by dowbt whether he should be the man employed unto us to correspond wth owr sending you into Spaine, or some other in his roome; the Marquis de Mirabell being in speach for that purpose. Why sufficient order and instruction should not be allready at Bruxells concerning the cuñing of Don Carlos (considering all w^{ch} hath passed abowt this mutual sending, w^{ch} you can readily call to minde) we can not well comprehend: and though the Marquis of Mirabell be a person of honor, and every way withowt exception, yet is it obvious to every man's understanding what time will be required for his preparaõn and what to putt this change in effect, part of Don Carlos traine being allready at Dunkerke, as we understand by the Captaine of owr Ship of warre, sent over expresly to transport him hether: and though making judgment of others by owr owne sinceritie, we are not easely jealous of any sinister intention, yet because owr honor is too deare unto us to expose it to adventure, untill you receave knowledge from us that we have satisfaction in sending unto us from that side, owr pleasure is after y^{r} arrival at that Court you should,[185] *instead of asking audience of that King, send to him or Olivares (as you shall think fitt) a message to this porpose That ye wer sent thither by* us *full fraughted with Powers & Instructions to beginn & if need wer to end a Treatie of Peace betwine the two Crounes & for the establishing of peace in Christendom, but that it was ever understood by* us *& promised by them, as well for point of honnor as convenience for treating theas greate affaires, that a reciprocall Ambassage should come from them to answer yours, of*

Co. Middlesex, July 10, 1631, Lord Treasurer and Master of the Wards. He was faithful to King Charles I. in all his troubles, accompanied his son, Prince Charles, into exile, and died at Valladolid, in Spain, in 1653, when the title became extinct. He married Anne, daughter of Sir William Meredith, Kn^{t}, and widow of Sir Robert Brett, by whom he had a son and four daughters, all of whom he survived.

[185] The concluding part of this despatch, printed in Italics, is in the handwriting of King Charles I., who has struck out all that Secretary Lord Dorchester had previously written. The word *me* is again corrected to *us* by Dorchester.

which we, fynding a delay, have commanded you nether to demand audience nor to beginn anie treatie, though it bee offered by them, till wee have sent you word of our satisfaction in this Point. This is what ye ar to delyver to them at your first coming & punctually observe till further comands: but though wee have stoped both your mouth & eares as a Publique Minister, yet we expect of your industrie, by comunications with dyvers as a Privat Person, both what is the caus of this delay on there syde of sending an Ambassador, and what may bee hoped of ther good intentions to give us satisfaction.

Given under our Signet at owr Court at Whitehall, the of November, 1629.

CXXIII. KING CHARLES I. TO SIR F. COTTINGTON.[186]

Westminster, Dec. 5, 1629.

Right trusty & welbeloved Counsello^R wee greete you well:

By o^r letters of the 19th of the last, sent by an expresse, wee gave you direction to suspend all manner of proceeding, by way of publique audience in any thing w^ch concernes o^r service in that Court till new order; & this upon such advertisement wee had from Bruxells of causeles delay (as wee had reason to conceave) of the coming of Don Carlos de Colonna; w^ch was promised to correspond w^th our sending of you into Spayne. Since, wee have receaved sufficient satisfaction from thence by letters from the Infanta to Rubens, w^ch give us assurance that Don Carlos shalbe at Dunkerke by the $\frac{10}{20}$th of this present to take his passage, against w^ch day wee are desired to send such of our shipps as are necessary for his transport, in w^ch wee will not fayle. And in regard the cause of the stay of your proceeding is therby taken away, wee have thought fitt w^th the soonest to cease the effect likewise; & therfore have comaunded this second expresse messenger to be dispatched unto you w^th these our letters, to sett you in the same state you were before o^r countermaund; & to authorise you to followe yo^r former comission according to yo^r instructions, with this onlie reservation, that

[186] On the same day, $\frac{5}{15}$ December, 1629. The Count d'Olivarez writes [in Spanish] to Sir Francis Cottington, then at Lisbon,—"By this Courier, who comes from England, I have received letters from Rubens, in which he tells me that he has moved them to send a Despatch to you."

you make no further use of yo^{r} credentiall letters, but in giving knowledge that such you have in yo^{r} hands (whereof you may shewe the copie to whome you thincke fitt) & that the stay of the delivery of them proceeds of this, that wee are informed Don Carlos comes wthout any from the King of Spayne: for w^{ch} this reason is alleadged, that whilst Princes are actually in warre it is not proper credentiall letters should passe betwixt them: & the same reason holding on our side as on that King's must be a rule equally to both: but yf you should find that, out of affection to the publique peace, they have there past by usual formes & sent credentialls to Don Carlos (as Rubens sayth it is very likely they have done upon second thoughts) wee then leave it unto you wthout scruple to deliver yo^{rs}; & howsoever yo^{r} com̃ission (w^{ch} serves as letters patents) you may shewe & make use of as may most advantage the acceleration of the treaty: of w^{ch} a principall fruict consists in the well manadging of tyme: & in that regard wee use this diligence in sending this expresse, who, in all apparance wilbe in that Court before Don Carlos arrivall here, & is likely enough to meete you there at yo^{r} first arrivall. For further particulars, w^{ch} may concerne yo^{r} negotiation, wee refer you to the letters of the Viscount Dorchester, one of o^{r} principall Secretaryes. Given under o^{r} Signett at o^{r} Pallace of Westminster the

CXXIV. SIR F. COTTINGTON TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

My good Lord: *Lisbon, Dec.* 13, 1629.

* * * * *

To-morrow Godwilling I shall be on my way for Madrid.[187] This Post, coming through Madrid, delivered ther (as it seemes) some lr̃es from Rubins; wheruppon the Conde of Olivares wrote me (by the same post) the lr̃e w^{ch} yo^{r} L^{p} shall find here inclosed: In which, though he indevors to excuse the deferring of Don Carlos his going into Eng^{d}, yet am I nott therwth all soe well satisfied, butt that I must still beleeve, the cheefe fault was in Madrid; howsoever he imputes it to Brussells. He seemes con-

187 "The Courier from Madrid brings news of the arrival of My Lord Ambassador at Court and of his most honorable reception, that he has had audience & began to treat with three Comis", the Count d'Olivares, the Count d'Onate, who was a long time Ambassador at Vienna, and another qualified Signor." [London, February 20, 1630.]

fident (as yo^{r} L^{p} wyll find by y^{e} l$\widetilde{re}$) that Don Carlos is by this tyme in Eng^{d}. If it be soe I doubt nott butt yo^{r} L^{p} wyll soone give me notise of it, and (as I have said) I wyll expect yo^{r} farther directions.

* * * * *

wishing you all ho^{r} and happiness doe rest

Yo^{r} L^{ps} to be co$\tilde{m}$aunded,

FRA. COTTINGTON.

CXXV. SEC. LORD DORCHESTER TO SIR F. COTTINGTON. (*Extract.*)

MY VERY GOOD LD: *Jan.* 10, 1629-30.

* * * * *

Don Carlos De Colonna[188] had his publike audience joinctly wth the K. & Q. at y^{e} Banquetting house on Wednesday last the 6th of this p$\tilde{n}$t, being Twelft day, & separatly afterwards y^{e} same day in both theyr private wthdrawing Chambers, all wth as much splendo^{r}, hono^{r} & good order as ever I sawe any; & one thing I believe he will confesse, y^{t} he never in his lyfe found such pretty porters in a publike sale, for y^{e} number of Ladyes was so great, they being divided from y^{e} Lordes & standing downe in fyle on y^{e} Q's side from y^{e} State to y^{e} lower ende of y^{e} banquetting house where y^{e} Amb^{r} entred, y^{t} they reached to y^{e} very dore, & yet were there many fallings out for spoyling one anothers ruffes by being so close ranked.

* * * * *

[DORCHESTER.]

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXXVI. B. GERBIER TO SIR F. COTTINGTON. (*Extracts.*)

SIR: [*London*], *February* 17, 1629-30.

* * * * *

The first public and the second private audience of *Don Carlos*[189]

[188] King Charles I. in a letter to Sir F. Cottington, of about the same date, says,—"Don Carlos hath further exprest so good intention in y^{e} K. his Master & y^{e} Infanta y^{t} wee are therwth very well satisfyed & y^{e} choyse made of a person so agreable unto us is thereof a further argum^{t}; but you very well knowe how both yo^{rs} & his negotiation depend upon such resolution as is to be taken in y^{t} Court."

[189] The words printed in Italics are in cypher in Gerbier's Original Despatch, but deciphered by Sir F. Cottington.

will have been fully related to you with all their attendant circumstances; also what the gossips here have already reported that *Don Carlos had come only as a compliment*, so that it might be inferred that it was a great disadvantage to *the King* in *having sent you, as though for the purpose of seeking peace.* You will also have heard of the difficulty they wished to raise, as to whether *the King should accept the letter from the Infanta to the King*, all proceeding from a "*Carlillada.*" *The King* nevertheless accepted it, after he was assured that the Infanta was accustomed to treat *the King of France* in the same manner. *Monsieur Rubens* by his prudent conduct overcame these little difficulties, and takes back with him *a letter from the King to the Infanta*, which is a civil answer, and full of respect.

The Sieur Rubens has taken leave of the King and the Queen, and is making ready to depart in four or five days, notwithstanding every one wishes *his remaining* for many reasons, and if it were not folly wishing for things which it is not possible to have, I should wish that the *Conde Duque* had not only written to *Rubens* to remain, if he thought it necessary, but expressly commanded him to do so, on the part of the *King*, and that he had been sent in the same quality as, and *joined with Don Carlos.* For, as I have remarked that there are certain persons here *who do all they can to hinder this business*, it is more than necessary to have *good assistance*, and, above all, to *sustain the weak*, and to overcome by efficacious arguments the subtle objections of some, and the malicious actions of others; for their number is great. The success of *the Dutch*, on whose side are *the Puritans*, makes those, who are carried away by a zeal as violent as it is dangerous, speak of the fierce and impetuous hopes which *the Cardinal* entertains, that *the King of France* may incite *the Dutch* to continue *the war*, promising them every assistance, which they confirm by the ratification of the Treaty.

* * * * *

The Lord Treasurer[190] was extremely troubled on the receipt of

[190] Richard Lord Weston, who was knighted by King James I. on July 23, 1603. He was sent in July, 1620, jointly with Sir Edward Conway, Ambassador to Brussells and Germany, to negotiate for the restitution of the Palatinate. There is a warrant dated July 12, 1622, for payment of sums advanced to Sir R. Weston, "Ambassador Extraordinary to the Infanta Archduchess of Austria." He was Chancellor of the Exchequer, created Baron Weston, of Neyland, April 13, 1628, Lord High Treasurer in the July following, and Earl of Portland February 17, 1632-3. He died March 3, 1634-5.

your letter, as you had so very seldom written to him, referring to the letter of *Dorchester*, which was in cypher. He was in want of *Rubens* to put it in a better state, for he was quite in despair, not knowing the contents of *Dorchester's* letter, nor what he could promise. At the first overture *Rubens* made to him, he conducted himself as though all had been broken off, but afterwards he well understood that it was folly to believe that, in the business of *the Palatinate*, anything could be done without *the Emperor* and the *Duke of Bavaria;* and in this sentiment all the other Ministers agree, except those who were principals in *the Treaty with France*, and who act the devil, through malice as much as through ignorance, to such a pitch, that I am quite weary. This I say in confidence, because you tell me to write to you freely, and assure me that you will take all in good part. I have this confidence, that you will attribute to my zeal what I say on this subject, although it may concern *him to whom I am under obligations* for my particular business.[191]

* * * * *

I will take the liberty to tell you freely, since you command me to do so, that I have great occasion to complain, for many reasons, realising that it is true, that it did not depend on a want of your good favourable disposition that *Gerbier* is no longer employed. *Gerbier* yields to nobody in the world in fidelity and disposition, which were born with him, and he has given signal proofs that in secrecy he yields to nobody in the world. That as he had the honour to commence this business, he ought not to have been thus left to serve the Signor Jeronimo, that is to say, to be innkeeper to *Rubens*, and not only intrust the passages which interpose in this business to others (against whom I make no exception), but that these persons should conduct themselves before *Gerbier*, in the presence of *Rubens*, as though on no account, *Gerbier* should be trusted, who has swallowed these bitter pills patiently, although with an offended spirit, seeing that he has given such clear proofs that he might be trusted. I will give one argument in my favour. *Gerbier* knew, from the first hour of *Rubens'* negotiation until now, all that had passed, and *Rubens*, concealing nothing from him, has not received bad intelligence from Gerbier, who accordingly has

[191] Gerbier also relates, that one morning, as the King was combing his head, he found a white hair, which he sent to the Queen in merriment; Henrietta Maria immediately wrote back that Don Carlos would cause many more to come before the Emperor gave up the Palatinate.

been enabled to advertise him of several things, and *Gerbier* having known everything from the commencement, and the contents of the paper the Lord Treasurer signed, which in truth *Rubens* and *Gerbier* had first projected together in the same spirit, very few words were altered, and it was afterwards sent. Therefore, great injustice was done *Gerbier*, by fearing that the intimacy he had with *Holland* could be disadvantageous, and that it was not possible he would not let some word escape; on that account the *Lord Treasurer* could not resolve to trust him. This was a poor argument against *Gerbier's* fidelity, who knows how to distinguish between persons and affairs; and although *Gerbier* is under obligations to *Holland* for having assisted him in his private affairs, and for having been the friend *of his Master*, yet *Holland* has never been able to draw out of *Gerbier* the least particularity, *Gerbier* having, from the age of discretion, the gift of secrecy. In these particular passages *Gerbier* does not ask for any other witness than *Rubens*. While all this has been passing between the *Lord Treasurer*, *Rubens*, and you, nobody has known anything about it. *Gerbier* makes this relation for no other end than to assuage his grief by complaining to you, and this shall be the last of it. I also think that the last letter I sent under cover of the *Lord Treasurer* had been opened, because, the day after I gave it to him, *the King* came and asked me, secretly, if *Carlisle* had told me that *the King* intended making *Rubens* a Knight. I know that no living soul knew of this, and that the King would not have spoken to me about it, if the *Lord Treasurer* had not caused my letter to be opened. All this proceeds from distrust, for which there is no cause. As to what concerns *Rubens*, *the King* had promised it him secretly, and when he took leave he did not do it, although I believe he will even now, because *the King* has reserved a ring which he wishes to give him with his own hands. I am very glad that *Rubens* knew nothing of the resolution that *the King* had taken, because it would have been a disgrace if he had not done it, to have changed his mind, and the cause might have been attributed to him, who, having cognisance, chose rather to prevent than facilitate it. *The King* has taken from *Gerbier* a cordon of diamonds and a ring to give to *Rubens*. God knows when *Gerbier* will be paid; as also for the charges of ten months' entertainment for *Rubens*. It is poor reward to be put to charges, and still be excluded from confidence.

Sir, you gave me liberty to write freely, I have this confidence

that I do so to a generous person, and to one who will do me the honour to allow me all my life to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your Excellency's

Very humble and very obedt. Servt.,

B. Gerbier.

Gerbier's fears as to when he should be paid for the cordon of diamonds and ring, which, four days afterwards, King Charles I. presented to Rubens, as also "for the charges for *nine* months[192] entertainment for Rubens," appear to have been groundless. Three days after writing the above letter to Sir Francis Cottington, was issued "A Warrant for a privie Seale of £500, unto Mr. Balthasar Gerbiere for a diamond ring and a hatband, by him sold to his Ma^tie^ to be presented unto Signor Piere Paulo Rubens, Secretary and Councillor to the King of Spaine. Feb. 20, 1629-30:"[193] and "The charges and entertaynment of Sig^r^ Piere Paulo Rubens, Secretary and Councillor of State to the King of Spaine, by his Ma^ties^ expresse command, defrayed at Balthasar Gerbiere, Esq., his Ma^ties^ servants house, with Mr. Brant, the sayd Sig^r^ Rubens brother-in-law, and their men from the 7 of December last to the 22 of Feb^y^ 1629-30, amounting to £128:2:11, were allowed the 29 of Feb^y^ 1629-30. Montgomery."[193]

CXXVII. G. GAGE TO ENDYMION PORTER.[194]

Sir: [*London, February* 20, 1629-30.]

I have bin twice at y^r^ house to wayte on y^w^, and to tell y^w^ that Sig^r^ Rubens parteth very well satisfied of y^r^ favour and affection to him, and is very sorrye for the affliction which God hath sent y^w^; but wee hope both that by this time y^r^ comforte is well-

[192] Rubens arrived in London about May 25, 1629, and left about February 22, 1629-30.

[193] From the books of the Lord Chamberlain's office, printed by Carpenter in his "Memoir of Sir A. Van Dyck, &c." p. 168. It will be seen Michel is in error when he says (p. 175) the King took from his own hat the diamond hatband which was worth 10,000 crowns; Gerbier was paid 500*l.* for the hatband and ring.

[194] On May 25, 1625, a pension of 500*l.* per annum was granted to Endymion Porter, Esq., one of the grooms of his Ma^ty^s bedchamber, during his life, payable out of the Exchequer, the first payment to begin at Midsummer next. The affliction alluded to was caused by the death of a child.

advanced, which I shalbee extreame glad to understande, as likewise of all occasions wherin I may shew myself

Y^r^ most affectionat
humble servant,
G. Gage.

This Saturday morning.
To my honourable friend, Mr. Endymion Porter.

On 21 February, 1630, Charles I. conferred on Rubens the honour of knighthood, as appears by a list of knights made by the King in the State Paper Office:—"21 Feb. 1629-30, Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Ambassador from the Archdutchesse at Whitehall," and presented him with the sword enriched with diamonds, which was used on the occasion, adding to the arms of the new knight on a Canton *gules*, a lion *or*.[195]

While in England Rubens painted several pictures, amongst others, an allegory, representing Peace and War,[196] which he presented to Charles I. He was also commissioned, by the King, to paint a series of pictures for the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall; the subject to be the allegorical history of James I.; but the correspondence which follows will show that his professional labours were very much interrupted by his diplomatic missions; and that these pictures did not reach England until September 1635.

Michel says, that on Rubens' return to Brussels, the Infanta Isabella thought it necessary for him to go to Spain, where he was received, by the King and the Conde d'Olivares, in the most gracious manner, for the singular prudence he had displayed during his negotiations in England, and that he returned to Antwerp in April, 1630.[197]

[195] Michel, p. 175. In the Council Register, Car. 1. Vol V., p. 633, is the following entry: January 31, 1629-1630.—A Pass for Pietro Paulo Rubens, one of the Councell of the King of Spaine, his Secretarie in his Previe Councell of Flanders, and one of the Gent. of the Houshold to the Archduchesse, to retourne back to the Low Countries, and to take with him his gent., servants, truncks of apparrell, and other things that he hath to carrie with him with out Search. Signed by the Lord President and twelve of the Privy Council.

[196] After the death of Charles I., this picture passed into the possession of the Doria family, at Genoa, where it was known as the "Family of Rubens." *Vanderdoort, Catalogue, &c., of King Charles I.'s Pictures.* It was subsequently obtained by the Marquis of Stafford, first Duke of Sutherland, who presented it to the National Gallery in 1827.

[197] Michel, pp. 178—182. Carpenter also says (p. 169), immediately on his arrival at Brussels from England, in March, 1630, Rubens was dispatched into Spain to communicate in person to Philip IV. the success of his negotiations at the English court, and this new mission detained him in Madrid till the latter end of that year.

The King of Spain created his son Albert by Letters Patent of the $\frac{5}{15}$ June, 1630,[198] Secretary of the Privy Council, in reversion, on the death of his Father, and also confirmed to Rubens by Letters Patent of the $\frac{11}{21}$ August, 1630, the title of Knight, which he had received from the King of England.[199] It will be seen that Rubens writes from *Brussels* on the 8th June, 1630, and from *Antwerp* the end of the following month; so that it is evident Rubens must have received these Letters Patent at one of these places; this fact, and also my not finding any reference to his visiting Spain after leaving England, induces me to believe that Rubens did *not* go to Spain after returning to Brussels from England.

CXXVIII. SEC. LORD DORCHESTER TO SIR F. COTTINGTON. (*Extract.*)

My very good L^p^: *Mar.* 21, 1629-30.

* * * * *

I must lett you knowe, for conclusion, that Rubens, before his departure, made a visitt to Joachimi, and (as Joachimi hath related to his Ma^ty^ and myself) used such discourse as yf his (Rubens) proposition of a suspension of armes (w^ch^ you may call to minde was the chiefe subject of his employm^t^ to his Ma^ty^) were o^rs^, and the peace betwixt the two Crownes apart were proposed and desired by his Ma^ty^; wishing the States would doe theyr affayres apart likewise.

Joachimi replyed, he could not believe his Ma^ty^ had made any such motion, or so much as given consent therunto; and, though he had, the States were not disobliged therby of theyr contract to his Ma^ty^, forbidding them to treate or conclude anything of that kinde w^th^ out him.

Upon further discourse, Rubens telling Joachimi the States might make peace yf they would, and therby bring quiett and rest after long warre to all the 17 Provinces, Joachimi answeared, there was but one way, and that was at this tyme very faysable, by chasing the Spanyards from thence: w^ch^ Rubens acknowledged to be the ground of the pacification of Gant, but sayd that peace was worse then warre. What creditt to give herunto is hard to judge, because Rubens hath wonne the reputation here amongst us of too

[198] Alfred Michiels, p. 167.
[199] Michel prints a Copy of the Letters Patent in French, p. 179.

honest a man to speake untruths contrary to his owne knowledge; and Joachimi is a person of approved sincerity; wherfore, leaving the men to the justification of theyr owne consciences, I will say this only of the matter, that the expulsion of the Spanyards out of those Provinces is in more men's mouthes then one; and I will assure you, I have at this day a project in my hands presented to his Ma^ty^ for this purpose.

* * * * *

I rest,

[DORCHESTER.]

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A, No. XX.]

CXXIX. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER.

Brussels, June $\frac{8}{18}$, 1630.

SIR;

BEFORE the receipt of your last of the 27th of May, according to your style, which was delivered to me on the 14th of June according to our style (4th June, O. S.), I knew nothing of the passport which was desired for Mons^r^. Rustorf, perhaps because your Excellency only made mention of it in your letters addressed to Mons^r^. L'Audiencier: at least I cannot imagine the cause of the delay of that despatch, for I found the Infanta perfectly willing, and Mons^r^. L'Audiencier very well disposed, to grant it promptly, and I delivered it at once to your courier, with the letter of the Signor Don Carlos to Mons^r^. Bruneau. The term of the passport is six months, which can be at any time renewed, and as often as you please, but her Highness says nothing concerning his stay in Germany during the Diet, as that does not depend upon her, but will be negotiated at the place itself, by means of a letter from the Signor Don Carlos Colonna, through Mons^r^. Bruneau communicating with the Duke of Tursis.[200] Meanwhile, his transit either way will be well secured in virtue of her Highness's passport. The news that your courier brought us by word of mouth, of the happy accouchement of the Queen of a Prince of Wales, was received by the Infanta with all the satisfaction and joy that she could evince on similar occurrences happening to Kings, her

[200] Don Carlos Doria is sent with a Commission and Instructions as Ambassador to Genoa, by the King of Spain, a Man well known to King Charles 1^st^ when in Spain, [in 1623] by the name of the Duke of Tursis.—Sec. Lord Dorchester to Sir Isaac Wake at Turin, April 15, 1630.

nearest relations and allies. And as to myself, I confess the extreme eagerness that I have to be and to appear a very zealous servant of the King of Great Britain, had transported me to some excess, if the outward disposition of the state at present had in any wise permitted me. I hope the return of Mons^r. Cottington's Secretary,[201] who they say arrived at London the 28th or 29th of May (old style), will have greatly advanced the business. We are expecting here every moment a despatch from Spain, which does not travel as quickly as usual, because a cavalier of quality brings it: the ordinary courier, one of his party, arrived the day before yesterday. I will not fail as soon as I get to my house at Antwerp, to have a care of your picture,[202] in conformity with the measure, taking it on my own responsibility to serve your Excellency punctually, and wishing to have many opportunities to show my zeal and duty in your service.

I remain ever your Excellency's
Very humble and very obedient servant,
PETER PAUL RUBENS.

[*Translated from the Italian, which see in Appendix* A, No. XXI.]

CXXX. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [N. C. FABRI DE PEIRESC.[203]]

Antwerp, $\frac{\text{July } 31}{\text{August } 10}$, 1630.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS & ESTEEMED SIR:

YOUR much desired packet has at length reached me, with the very accurate drawings of your tripod and many other curiosities, for which I send you the accustomed payment of a thousand

[201] Arthur Hopton, see p. 157, note 214.

[202] See Gerbier's letter of $\frac{15}{25}$ July, 1631, p. 158.

[203] Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, Councillor to the Parliament of Aix, was the friend of most of the Savants and Artists of his time. In 1618, Louis XIII. gave him the Abbey of Notre Dame de Guistre, near Bordeaux. This distinguished man had emissaries in all parts of the world, to seek out monuments worthy of being preserved to science. He first bought the marbles of Paros for 50 Louis, but some differences arising about their embarkation, the Earl of Arundel [see Appendix B.] subsequently bought them. He died June 24, 1637, in the arms of Gassendi, who wrote his life in Latin. There are a great number of his letters preserved in the British Museum. I have extracted the above sketch from "Lettres Inédites de Rubens, par Emile Gachet," p. 2, who has also printed at pp. 251—255, a French Translation of the above letter from Rubens to Peiresc, with the following note *in French*, "The translation of this letter, the text of which is wanting, was made by M. Thomassin de Mazaugues (who married a niece of Peiresc), and prepared during the last century a Collection of the letters of Peiresc, who, at his death, left more than 10,000 letters, a great portion of which were destroyed by his niece. It is one of the

thanks. I have given to Signor Gevartio[204] the drawing of Jupiter Pluvius, and have communicated all the rest, as well as to the most learned Signor Vendelino, who by chance was at Antwerp, and came to see me yesterday with Signor Gevartio. I have not however had time in two days, viz., yesterday and to-day, to read your discourse on the Tripod, which without doubt, on that matter, must touch all that falls under the human intellect; but I will not omit, for all that, to state, according to my accustomed temerity, my views on this subject, which I am sure you will, with your usual candour, take in the best part. In the first place; all the utensils which rested on three feet, were anciently called tripods, although they served for most varied purposes, as tables, seats, candelabra, baskets, &c. And amongst others they had an instrument to place on the fire under the crocks (*chaudrons* in French) for cooking meat, as used still at the present day in many parts of Europe, then they made a combination of the crock and the tripod, as we know by our pipkins of iron and bronze with three feet; but the ancients had made them with the most beautiful proportions, and, to my mind, this was the true tripod mentioned in Homer and other Greek poets and historians, which they adopted, *in re Culenaria*, to cook their meats; and with respect to the viscerations used in the sacrifices, they began to have "*inter Sacram supellectilem ad eundem usum.*" But the Delphic Tripod I do not believe they derived from this kind, but that it was a sort of seat placed on three feet, as they still use commonly throughout Europe, which had not the basin concave, or if it were concave, to preserve within it the spoils of the Python, [we find in the antique monuments seats with four feet, as the Sella Jovis [seat of Jupiter], but still some stools or seats have three feet, as our own stools,] it was covered on the top, and upon this the Pythoness could seat herself with some hole underneath, but that she sate with her thighs in the depth of the concavity does not appear to me likely, from the inconvenience and cutting of the brim of the basin. It may still be, that upon this cup was distended, as upon a drum, the skin of the Python, and for that reason called the curtain, and that it was pierced, together with the crock. Certain it is, that in Rome they find divers tripods of marble

letters that M. Rouard had the kindness to copy for us at Aix." The Original, in Italian, is in my father's collection. [The passages within brackets are in the margin of the MS.]

[204] See ante p. 129, note 165.

which have not any concavity, and they are accustomed still, as you will see in several places cited underneath, to place often the statues dedicated to different gods on the same tripods, which could not be, if not on a solid and level bottom; and we must believe that, in imitation of the Delphic tripod, they applied it to other gods, and that the tripod denoted every kind of oracle or sacred mystery, whence we see it still in the Mimæ of Marcus Lepidus, P. M. But what is more to our purpose I will state with more care, that is, that the ancients used a certain kind of warming dish or *réchaud* (as they say in French) made of bronze, [there are two rechaus of silver made in Paris of this kind, these they adopted in every part,] to resist the fire, and in the form of a tripod, of which they made use in their sacrifices, and perhaps even in their banquets. There is no doubt, however, that this was the brazen tripod so frequently mentioned in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius and others, which served for the burning sacrifices to their idols, as you will see in the places cited underneath. And if I do not greatly deceive myself, this brazen tripod of yours, considering well the material, the small size, and the simplicity of the work, should be one of these which they used in the sacrifices for burning incense, and the hole in the middle served for an air hole to make the coal burn better, as it is necessary that all the modern "rechaus" should still have some one or many apertures to this effect, and according to what we can comprehend from the drawing, the bottom of the basin or cup is broken and consumed by the fire. [So that its quantity do not exceed the size of an ordinary rechau, which they use now-a-days, and the figure is so proper to this effect, that, when I have need of one, I should wish to make it in this wise]. This is as much as I can say at present on this particular, leaving to you your own free and correcting authority; at all events, neither the Signor Vendelino nor Gevartio have alleged to me sufficient reasons to the contrary, nay, I think that, by little and little, they will incline to this opinion. That leaden chimney is most worthy of remark, that we ought to consider it "*Saturnalibus optimo dierum.*" The fragment is also fantastical, with those Egyptian gods and the wind, which appears to me must have been some rustic calendar to indicate the principal feasts and other mysteries of the seasons of the year, and are intended to denote the circles round the heads of their gods after the Egyptian manner, as we see in the picture of Isaac. But above all, appear to me most beautiful, those

nuptial rings, so beautifully inscribed, that Venus herself, with all her Graces, could not make better. These are worth a treasure, nay, they are inestimable to my mind. We are all surprised that you, Sir, in so great a public calamity, should remain with your mind so well in repose, that you can, with your usual taste, continue your most noble study in the observation *rerum antiquarum; Specimen animi bene Compositi et vera Philosophia imbuti.* I hope, however, that on the arrival of this the evil will have ceased, and that you are already on your return to your sacred museum, that it will please God may be with you all happiness and contentment for many years, as this your devoted servant desires with all his heart, and kisses the hands of your most illustrious Lordship.

Your affectionate Servant,

Peter Paul Rubens.

These drawings are exquisitely well done, and certainly in their way cannot be surpassed, it will be well that you retain this virtuous youth[205] near you, as the executor of your most beautiful conceits. The portrait of your Excellency has been most gratifying to myself and to those gentlemen who have seen it, and rest entirely satisfied with the likeness; but I confess that there does not appear to me to shine in that face a certain spirituality, and a certain emphasis in the countenance, which belongs to your genius, which, however, is not easily attained by any one in a picture. I return you again a thousand thanks for so many gems, and I beg of you to be pleased, on my part, most cordially to kiss the hands of the most gentle Signor de Valaviss^{r}, your brother, who wrote to me from Lyons on the fourth of July, giving me news of having received my portrait, which there is no doubt will be badly treated by the long voyage, and will be, in every way, unworthy of your museum, except in the quality of a servant.

Hos locos contractos.

Most sad news has arrived here from Italy; on the 22nd of July the city of Mantua was taken by escalade, by the Imperialists, with the loss of the greater part of the inhabitants; this grieves me extremely, from having served the House of Gonzaga many years, and having enjoyed a delightful residence in that country during my youth. *Sic erat in fatis.*

[205] Melan, Em. Gachet, p. 254.

CXXXI. SIR H. VANE[206] TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

Hage, $\frac{Aug.\ 23}{Sept.\ 2}$, 1630.

My Lord:

* * * * *

Here is an advertisement come from Rubens to the States that for certaine the peace betweene his Ma^{ty} & the K. of Spaine is concluded.[207] Yo^{r} L^{p} may guesse what discourse this begetts here,

[206] Sir Henry Vane was born in Kent in 1589. He was knighted by King James I. at Newmarket in March, 1612, and appointed cofferer to Prince Charles, on whose accession he was made a member of the Privy Council. He was sent on several special embassies—to the Queen of Bohemia in May, 1625—to Holland as Ambassador Extraordinary in February, 1628-9—returned to London in the following May, but was again despatched to the Hague on October 18, 1629. He was recalled on November 2, 1630, and left Holland in March, 1631. His credentials as Ambassador to Sweden are dated September 22, 1631. On February 3, 1639-40, was granted—"The office of Secretary of State to Sir Henry Vane, Kn^{t} Tr^{er} of H. M. Household during H. M. pleasur." Through joining in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford he was removed from all his appointments, and died in 1654, aged sixty-five.

[207] The Peace with Spain was signed on the $\frac{5}{15}$ November, 1630, and proclaimed on December 5 following.

"A relation of y^{e} Ceremonie that passed in Spaine at the publication & swearing of the Peace, by the King [of Spain], in January, 1630.

"The publication and swearing the peace was here performed with as much sollemnitie and ostentation as they could well think on, with a manifestation not only of a publique care, but a generall affection. For the publication (which was on the 5th X^{ber} st^{o} vet.) there were erected scaffolds, all fairely hung with tapistrie, one in the Pallace yard, and placed about the midst therof; but the K. coming to see it, comanded another to be built, close to the Pallace, and under a Balcon, where, himself, the Queen, and both the Infants stood, and heard the Peace published. The other scaffolds were, one in the Puerta de Gadalayara, another in the Plaça Mayor, and the last in the Plaçuela de la Villa; upon all these it was published, with assistance of principall Ministers of Justice. That night, by command, ther were bonfires & luminaries, through the whole towne, which, by the same order, continued three nights following. The 7th was the King's oath taken, at the Pallace, in a great roome called the Salon. My Lo: Amb^{r} would have beene contented that his passage to the Pallace might have been in Coach, But the K. would not hear therof, but that it must be himself, and all the gentlemen of his Company on horse back, and to keep them company, a comission was granted to the Duke of Gandia Mayor, Demo Mayor to the Queen, [This Comis^{n}. was intended to be given to the Constable, because his father had don the like, when my Lo: Admirall took Phi: 2. his oath; but he happened to be indisposed at the time,] who, towards the Evening, came to my Lord's house, and with him all the Grandes & gentlemen of qualitie in the towne, to the number of at least 200 all in Galao. With this accompammimenta his Lōp was conducted to the Pallace, wher he arrived about Candle lighting, and was conducted to the foresaid salon (all but the King's servants and his Lōp's Companie being kept out) in the upper end wherof, the K. sate, and the Queen and all her Ladies, in a place not farr from him, compassed with a seperation of lettice [lattice] set upp for that night's service. On the right hand of the State was placed a chaire for my Lo: Amb^{r} to sit in, and on the left hand was made a banco of Grandes, on which sate the Cardinall Sapata, who rose up, and assisted by Andres de Rocas (one of the Sec^{ries} of State) read the matter of all that the King was to take his oath upon. Then was a forme covered with redd velvet brought before the K., wheron was layd by the Patriarch a book of the

& how they exclaime against this proceeding. I assure them that I know no such thing neither do I believe it, but this satisfies not & they will not believe other, but tell me Amb^rs sometymes have the knowledge of affaires from their Masters last, or att least they will seeme to have it soe.

* * * * *

Your Lord^ps most humble and affectionate servant,

H. Vane.

CXXXII. R. MASON TO SIR H. VANE. (*Extract.*)

My most noble and much honoured Lord: *Ratisbone, Oct.* 15, 1630.

* * * * *

It will perhapps seeme strange to some in England, that after y^e first overture made long since by y^e Abbott de la Scaglia of a peace w^th Spaine.[208] After Jerbier's imployem^t to Rubens in y^e lowe Countreyes. After Rubens his interposition in y^e name of y^e Infanta betwixt y^e Kings of England & Spaine & his expresse journey to y^t purpose into Spaine. After another of Mr. Endimion Porter to that King. After Mr. Rubens his knowne agencye in England w^th cõmission from y^t King & y^e extraordinarie Ambassage of S^r Francis Cottington begunne long before y^e beginning of this diet. After all these close and open treatyes & a Duke of Turcis pretensively sent from Spaine, for y^e service of y^e K. of England, in y^e behalfe of y^e Palsgrave: his Mat^ies Extraordinarie Amb^r heere should have but once audience of y^e Emp^r in all this tyme & scarse one dispatch out of England.

* * * * *

Yo^r Lo^ps most affectionate,

R. M.

Evangelists, and a Crucifix, before which the K. kneeled, and took his oath to observe the Articles of Peace; this being don, the Cardinall asked my Lo: Emb^r Whether he accepted that oath, in the K. his Master's Name, who said I accept it. Then the K. called his Lõp to him, and, amongst other discourses, wished him to dispatch presently, to acquaint the K. what had passed, which he would have don that very night, but with all the solicitation he could use, he could never gett this K. dispatch, untill the day of the date of this letter. From the K. my Lo: was conducted to the Queen (who had removed herself from the place wher shee satt to see the oath taken, to a large roome in her owne quarter) wher, waited on by all her Ladies according to the state of this Court, she gave his Lõp a very gratious Audience. This was the end of the Ceremonie, ther remayning nothing but that the Duke of Gandia accompanied my Lord home in his Lõps Coatch, and as he was to go out of the Court gate, ther were provided, to entertaine him, very costly & curious fireworks, the whole street being full of bonfires, in his way, and luminaries in every window. Thus much touching the ceremonie."

[208] The Spanish Treaty doth derive the first Source in the Duke of Savoy's Court. Sec. Lord Dorchester to Sir Is: Wake, at Turin, August 11, 1629.

On the 6th of December, 1630, Rubens, then in his 54th year, was married, for the second time, at St. James's Church, Antwerp, to Helena Fourment,[209] his niece, who was scarcely sixteen years of age; his first wife's sister, Clara Brandt, having married Daniel Fourment.[210] Descamps says she was of rare beauty, and often served him as a model for the heads of women, and that she may be seen, exceedingly well represented, in the picture Rubens painted for the chapel, where he is interred, in St. James' Church.

On his return to Antwerp after his long absence, and bringing with him his second wife, his fellow-citizens are said to have regarded him at first almost as a stranger.[211] He immediately resumed his favourite occupations and studies,[212] and served as *Doyen des Peintres* in 1631.[213]

These pursuits were, however, very soon interrupted. The Infanta Isabella called upon Rubens to assist her in bringing about a peace with the United Provinces, and in other negotiations. He appears to have left Antwerp for Dunkirk in July, 1631, for the purpose of seeing the Marquis d'Aytona, who was then Ambassador from the King of Spain, in the Catholic provinces, and had the chief management of Foreign Affairs, and to have been in constant negotiations at Brussels, the Hague, Liege, Maestricht, &c., until the end of 1633, when they were brought to a sudden close by the death of his Sovereign and patroness the Infanta Isabella. This sad event took place on the $\frac{21\text{st November,}}{1\text{st December,}}$ 1633; and it will be seen by Sir William Boswell's letter of the 2nd December following, that the Treaty with the

[209] The marriage was contracted *avec dispense des bans et du temps clos,* which signifies that the celebration took place during Advent, a solemn season when marriage is forbidden by the Church. This double dispensation proves that Rubens was impatient to marry his new wife. (Alfred Michiels, p. 569). Helena Fourment survived Rubens, and was married again to John Baptist Broekhoven, Lord of Bergeyck, &c., by whom she has left descendants, who still live at Malines, the Counts de Bergeyck, brothers, and several sisters married. (M. Mols. MS. Note to Descamps, p. 308.)

[210] The epitaph of John Brandt, who died in September, 1639, and was buried in the church of the Abbey of St. Michael, proves this relationship. "To Henry and John, Juris-consults Bachelors; To Isabel and Clara; the former of whom was married to Peter Paul Rubens, Knight, the Prince of Painters of every age; the latter to Daniel Fourment, a Diligent Merchant," &c. (Alfred Michiels, p. 168.)

[211] Alfred Michiels, p. 168, says that during three years Rubens had almost always been away from home.

[212] Peacham, in his 'Complete Gentleman,' says (edit. of 1661, p. 111) of Rubens,—"While he is at work he useth to have some good Historian or Poet read to him, which is rare in men of his profession." More observations upon Rubens and his Art, as relates to the practice of it, will be found in Peacham's work.

[213] M. Mols MS. Note to Descamps, p. 309.

Catholic Provinces died with the Infanta, although it is said that Rubens returned from the Hague satisfied with having procured the introduction of a peace.

CXXXIII. ARTHUR HOPTON[214] TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

Madrid, $\frac{April\ 25}{May\ 5}$, 1631.

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R LO^P:

* * * * *

This Kinge is now resolved to send for Leiger Emb^r into Eng^d Don Cristoval de Benavente, whoe is now in Venice. He hath shewed himselfe a man of great integrity, wisdome, and moderation, to the satisfaction of both sides. But I conceave hee canot bee in Eng^d yet these three monthes, and that may bee the cause why Rubens and Nicolaldy (whoe is a man much esteemed by the Conde of Olivarez) are comanded to goe presently thether,[215] and to remaine there untill the Emb^rs arrivall, thus much the Conde tould mee the last time I was w^th him.

* * * * *

Yo^r Lo^ps most humble servant,
ART. HOPTON.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXXXIV. B. GERBIER[216] TO LORD TREASURER WESTON. (*Extract.*)

MY LORD: *Brussels, June* 29, 1631.

* * * * *

The Sieur Rubens departs promptly towards Dunkirk to see

[214] Arthur Hopton, of Witham, Somersetshire, was Secretary to Sir Francis Cottington, when Ambassador at Madrid, 1629—1631. On March 25, 1631, Secretary Lord Dorchester writes to him,—"Now M^r Chancello^r of y^e Exchequer is safely returned for his person as he is succesfully and avowedly for his Ambassage, and you in y^e way of yo^r settled employm^t." A Warrant was issued on the 27^th May following for 40*s.* p^r diem to Arthur Hopton, His Ma^ties Agent in Spain, where he continued to reside until the end of 1635, when Walter, Lord Aston, arrived at Madrid as Ambassador. He was Knighted at Whitehall on February 2, 1637-8, and soon after replaced Lord Aston at Madrid, arriving there in the following June, and was Ambassador in 1644, when there is a considerable break in the diplomatic correspondence with Spain in the State Paper Office.

[215] Rubens never visited England but once, when he remained about nine months, from about May 25, 1629, to about February 22, 1630.

[216] In the Council Register, Car. I, Vol. VI. p. 552, there is the following entry. —May 31, 1631. A pass for Balthazar Gerbier, Esq., employed by his Ma^tie as his Agent with the Archduchess, requiring all his Ma^ties Officers whome it may concerne not onely to suffer him to embarque with all his followers, servants, Trunckes, Chests, Bagg and Baggage with out search, at anie of his Ma^ties ports, but likewise to see him furnished w^th able post horses (if he shall require them) untill he come to the sea side.

the Marquis d'Aytona,[217] who through his influence as Ambassador of the King his master in these parts governs absolutely all foreign affairs, and consequently Rubens resolves on nothing without him; on his return I will use my best diligence to find out what their resolutions are * * *

Your Excellency's
very humble, very obedient, and
very obliged servant,
B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXXXV. B. GERBIER TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, July $\frac{15}{25}$, 1631.

Sir:

* * * * *

Monsieur Rubens, who is not yet certain about his journey to England, told me that the picture of Snyders he has had painted for your Excellency is finished. If Y. E. will send me the size of the pictures you desire, I will punctually reply, and let you know the price, and in everything I shall always be

Your Excellency's
very humble and very obedient Servant,
B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXXXVI. B. GERBIER TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

Sir: *Brussels, July* 22, 1631.

* * * * *

I wrote in my last for the size of the pictures your Excellency desires, which must be had before the bargain can be made. Mons[r] Rubens has given me the names of those in this country who are worthy to paint them. He is still with the Marquis d'Aytona near the Queen Mother, who will tarry some days longer at Mons, where she will take a course of medecine.

* * * * *

Your Excellency's, &c.,
B. Gerbier.

[217] The Marquis d'Aytona became Prime Minister to the Infanta Isabella in 1628, when the Marquis Spinola was recalled to Spain, and continued to administer the Government after Her Highness' death in 1633. Sir William Boswell writes from the Hague on $\frac{13}{23}$ August, 1635,—"The Marquis d'Aytona, being lately dead (dead suddenly), the D. of Lerma executes his charge till farther order comes out of Spayne."

[*Translated from the Flemish and Latin,*[218] *which see in Appendix* A, No. XXII.]

CXXXVII. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO FRANCIS JUNIUS.[219]

Antwerp, $\frac{July\ 22}{August\ 1}$, 1631.

Sir:

You will be much surprised not to have received, long before this, any tidings of the receipt of the book which, as appears from yours of May 24, was destined for me. Yet I pray you to be good enough to believe that the aforesaid book was remitted only fourteen days ago, through one of this city, named Leon Hemselroy, with many excuses for so late attention to it. This is the reason why I have not answered your letter, as I wished first to see and also to read the book, which I have now done attentively. To say the truth, I think that you have much honoured our art by this immense treasure of the whole of antiquity, recovered with so much diligence, and publicly arranged in the most beautiful order. For this book, as I would tell your Honour, in one word, is a rich storehouse, most fruitful in all manner of examples, opinions, and rules, which, relating to the dignity and illustration of the pictorial art, scattered throughout the ancient writings, have been preserved to our time, and consecrated, as it were, to our great advantage. Thus I perceive in the title and argument to the book, "*De Picturâ veterum*" [On the painting of the Ancients], *that the object* is attained by your honour to a nicety, and even the axioms and rules, opinions and examples, which afford the greatest information to us are inserted here and there, expressed with a certain admirable erudition, elegant style of expression, and in correct order. The whole of this work

[218] The Original is in the British Museum. (Harl. MS. 4935, No. 25.)

[219] Francis Junius was born at Heidelberg in 1589. He was educated at Leyden, where his father was Professor of Divinity, and resolved to enter the army in the service of the Prince of Orange, but a truce for twelve years being concluded in 1609, changed his purpose, and he applied himself closely to the study of letters. With a view to farther improvement, he first went to France, and then to England, where he arrived about 1620. Delighted with his learning and amiable manners, the Earl of Arundel made him his Librarian, with whom he remained for nearly thirty years devoted to literary pursuits, and more particularly to the study of the Northern languages. On the death of his Noble Patron he left England and visited Friesland and Holland, remaining some time in both these countries. He returned to England in 1674, but finding his health giving way, retired to Oxford in 1676, and died at the House of his Nephew, Dr. Isaac Vossius, at Windsor, on November 19, 1677, aged 88. He was not only very learned, but a man of irreproachable character, and the author of several most valuable works, amongst others, "*De Picturâ veterum,*" which forms the subject of the above very interesting letter from Rubens. (Chalmers. Biog: Univers: Watkins.)

being perfectly digested and polished with the greatest care, even to the cover. But since these examples of the ancient painters are only shadows, and for the apprehending of which we may follow more or less closely, I could wish that some such treatise of the paintings of the Italian masters were executed with the same diligence. Their examples or prototypes are to this day publicly sold, and can be pointed out with the finger, and I should say there are such.

For those things which fall under the senses are the most deeply impressed upon the mind, remain the longest, require more careful examination, and afford material more fruitful in instruction to students, than those things which only present themselves to us in imagination like dreams, and fore-shadowed in words only, being grasped at in vain (as the shadow of Eurydice *evaded* Orpheus), often elude and frustrate each one in his hope. We speak from experience, for how few of us would attempt to subject to ocular demonstration any renowned work of Apelles or Thimantes, graphically described by Pliny or other ancient writers, for fear of indignity; would it afford anything not insipid or not averse to the majesty of the Ancients, but each indulging his own fancy, would draw out most from that sweetly bitter Opimium [*i. e.* would produce something new in place of the original], and would offer an injury to those illustrious dead, whom I follow with the greatest veneration, and rather adore the footsteps of those who have preceded me, than ingenuously profess that I am capable of following them, even in thought alone.

I pray you, my dear Sir, to receive well those things which I have been taking the infinite liberty of saying, in hope that you, after such good promises, will not refuse us the crowning of the feast which we altogether much long after; for hitherto, no one has satisfied our appetite, of all those who have treated on such matters: for, as I said, it behoves to come to individual cases. Wherefore I commend myself, with my whole heart, to your good favour, and sincerely thanking you for the honour you have done me by the presentation of your book and friendship, I remain, in sincerity, Sir,

Your humble and affectionate Servant,

Peter Paul Rubens.

At Antwerp, in haste, and standing on one foot, the 1st of August, 1631.

To Mr. Francis Junius,

At the Court of Earl Marshal Arundel, at London.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXXXVIII. B. GERBIER TO THE LORD TREASURER WESTON.

(*Extract.*)

My Lord: *Brussels, August* 12, 1631.

* * * * *

Mons. Rubens has often entertained me with the refusal of the Dutch to treat, through the intervention of His Majesty. He told me that the Abbé de Scaglia had left Madrid with power to treat with the Dutch, but that notwithstanding it should have been through the intervention of His Majesty.[220]

That now they would be very well able to enter into Conference, but that the Abbé having received his orders, they could not be revoked. Nevertheless, Rubens believes it will be necessary to have further instructions, inasmuch as the Dutch obstinately and maliciously refuse to treat through His Majesty; in which (if true) they exhibit their ingratitude, and care little to oblige the King of Bohemia.

* * * * *

Your Excellency's, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXXXIX. B. GERBIER TO KING CHARLES I. (*Extracts.*)

Sire: *Brussels, September* 22, 1631.

* * * * *

A courier arrived from Madrid two days ago, by whom the King of Spain sent Royal Letters, communicating this secret—[that the Spaniards, before acting more openly, wish to see Monsieur in possession of a strong place, which should be in his hands in about a fortnight]—to the Infanta, and afterwards to the Marquis de St. Croix, the Marquis d'Aytona, the Cardinal de la Coeva, and the Chevalier Rubens, all of whom are commanded not to communicate it to a living soul, or to any other minister who is not in the secret.

[220] Dudley Carleton writes from the Hague, $\frac{8}{18}$ July, 1631,—"The Abbot de la Skalia is appointed by the King of Spaine for that service (the Truce); he is shortly to come againe heither, having receaved instructions to that purpose, and his entertainement is mentioned to be 6000 crownes per mensem: besides a rich Abbey given him in Sicilia of 6000 ducats revenue, and a pension for life of as much more."

* * * * *

I have learnt that the cause of the Queen Mother's long stay at Antwerp was to make levies for necessaries upon her jewels, which she had sent to Holland, and that she was under the apprehension that Cardinal Richelieu would seize them. I am well-informed, for the Sieur Rubens showed me himself two pieces [of jewelry] upon which he had lent money.

* * * * *

Mons. Rubens complains of the sudden caprice of the Secretary of Monsieur, who appoints colonels and officers from among those who are secretly dismissed, and without asking the advice of the Marquis d'Aytona, there being, among the officers, those who might betray Monsieur.

* * * * *

Rubens informs me that the Marq. de la Vieu Ville has privately sent to withdraw the secret resources which he had contributed to the use of Monsieur.

* * * * *

Sire,
Your Majesty's
Very humble, very obedient,
Very faithful, and very devoted
Subject and Servant,
B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXL. B. GERBIER TO KING CHARLES IST. (*Extract.*)

Sire: *Brussels, October* 11, 1631.

* * * * *

The truth is, the Père Chanteloupe, of whom I have spoken in my letter to Secretary Lord Dorchester, has clearly allowed himself to be gained over or deceived by Cardinal Richelieu, whom he serves here as though he were one of his creatures. He has completely ruined the Queen Mother in the estimation of the Spaniards and this Court. The Infanta is scandalised in a high degree by the inconstancy of the Queen Mother to the Marquis de la Vieu Ville, through whose prudence and probity Spain hazarded a declaration of her good intentions towards the Queen Mother. So that, as Rubens told me, it is resolved to communicate only with the ministers of Monsieur, and to listen to nothing

that is proposed by Chanteloupe, Valance, or any other on the part of the Queen. In accordance with this resolution, the Infanta has secretly advised the Marquis d'Aytona not to admit any of their demands, nor treat with them.

* * * * *

Sire,

Your Majesty's, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*][221]

CXLI. THE MEMORANDUM SIR WILLIAM BALFOUR CARRIED WITH HIM. (*Extract.*)

October 16, 1631.

Concerning the separation of the Marquis de la Vieu Ville, there is this to say:—That the Queen Mother has allowed herself to be so carried away by Chanteloupe, that, without assigning any reasons, she persecutes Vieu Ville to such a degree, as to request the Sieur Rubens, to oblige the Infanta to banish Vieu Ville from these States, with this protestation, that if he did not leave, she would not remain. Rubens, in answer, replied, that the Infanta could not banish the Marquis de la Vieu Ville.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXLII. B. GERBIER TO KING CHARLES IST. (*Extract.*)

Sire: *Brussels, October* 29, 1631.

* * * * *

I have sent this courier express to give your Majesty intelligence of a secret, which the Chevalier Rubens entrusted me with, about this journey [of the Queen Mother into England]. Although the Sieur Rubens bound me to secrecy by oath, which

[221] Lord Dorchester writes to Gerbier on September 22, 1631,—"S^{r} Will Balfore hath his dispatch from theyr Ma^{ties}, yet in opinion this messager you dispatched unto me may arrive sooner & give you knowledge of his coming, I would not but give him & such others as you shall employ encouragem^{t} by letting him have some service back; & wth all lett you know (whereby to free you from all jealousye) y^{t} howsoever S^{r} Will Balfore hath credential lres as well to y^{e} Infanta as to Q. Mother he hath no more in charge then to passe complem^{t} w^{t} them both." He was knighted by King James I. at Nottingham on August 13, 1619. Lady Balfour was ordered to depart out of the Limits of the Commonwealth [of England] on April 28, 1651.

would have very much troubled me but for this outlet, that I did not promise him not to write about it to your Majesty, who will [I hope] keep this a profound secret, for otherwise it would be impossible for those whom your Majesty does the honour to employ, ever to learn secret things. It is, that the Sieur Rubens showed me a letter from the Abbé de Scaglia to himself, which Rubens had deciphered, and in which were these words :—

"It is necessary, in accordance with what I have already written, concerning the journey of the Queen Mother to England, that this opportunity, the accouchement of the Queen [of England] to make the journey, be not lost, knowing how much her presence might lead to negotiation with the Infanta, but that no living soul may know this intelligence comes from me."

* * * * *

Sire,

Your Majesty's, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the Italian, which see in Appendix* A. No. XXIII.]

CXLIII. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO THE ABBÉ DE SCAGLIA.

(*Extract.*)

November $\frac{5}{15}$, 1631.

* * * * *

I do not, however, understand that which your Excellency says you have written to me, but which I do not find in any of your former letters, viz. :—if this matter be treated of, it ought to be as a hidden thing, and not pass through Gerbier's hand, who has caused himself to be greatly suspected by Chanteloupe for having, with some animosity, sustained the Marquis. However, it would not much matter if they concealed the true secret from him. The Infanta told me she had had some wind of it.

I advertised your Excellency, so that if you think proper you should not trust yourself to Gerbier, who is contrary; nevertheless, for the good I wish him, I have advised him that he should not directly oppose himself to a thing, which, it is not impossible, may take effect, that he may not remain napping in the midst of persons so knowing, and of such eminent quality : at least, neither I, nor any one dependent on the King of Spain, or the Infanta, ought to bring themselves to this, but ought rather to endeavour

to hinder it in others, even if it were, merely to save our appearance. ["The rest was a relation of the ill-governm^{t} of the Queene Mother."]

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

CXLIV. B. GERBIER TO KING CHARLES I. (*Extracts.*)

Brussels, December $\frac{9}{19}$, 1631.

SIRE:

IN my letters of the 23^{d} Sept^{r}, I wrote to y^{e} Lord Visc^{te} Dorchester of y^{e} request Collonel Parrum told me that Count Jean de Nassau had to make unto y^{r} Maj^{tie} not to mediate a Peace or Truce for the Hollanders, That y^{e} Prince of Orange had declared unto him, being att Wesel, y^{e} States would never hearken unto a Treaty moved by your Maj^{tie}.

* * * * *

The motto of this Enigma is, y^{t} S^{r} Peter Reubens is gon on Sunday last, the $\frac{14}{4}$ of this month, wth a Trumpetter towardes Berghen op Zom, wth ful power for to give y^{e} fatall stroke unto Mars, and life unto this State & the Empire.

This voyage was resolved since y^{e} defeate of the Challouppe Army, but not knowne of any living Soule, save the Infanta and the Marquis d'Aytona.

* * * * *

The other particularities are come to my knowledge by one Mons. Montfort, Garde-Dames to y^{e} Infanta, who is solely in trust wth S^{r} Peter Reubens, who, before his departure from this Court, gave me just subject of suspition that he was bound for some important journey, for I, being entred in discours wth him on the French busines, he let slip a word that he had one in hand, the good successe whereof may tend to the salvation of this State and the Empire: I replied, that sure (as every one here would kill y^{e} King of Sweden) he was not to dispatch a Ravilac: he saide, my dispatch is but one letter, w^{ch} I saw him receave from the Infanta, under a covert wthout superscription. I tould him that sure he was to goe for Holland, which he slighted as being a time unfitt, but next morning he was gon for Antwerpe.

* * * * *

Your Majesty's, &c.,

B. GERBIER.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXLV. B. GERBIER TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, December $\frac{16}{26}$, 1631.

SIR:

I WROTE to your Excellency concerning the journey of Mons. Rubens to Holland;[222] he was three days going, two days at the Hague, and four days returning, and he was not seen by a living soul, except the Prince of Orange at the Hague and the Chevalier Morgan in returning.

On the evening of his arrival at the Hague, the Sieur Rubens sent to speak to one named the Councillor Junius, through him the prince of Orange learnt what Rubens had to say to him. The Prince of Orange feigned great astonishment that Rubens had come, saying, that he would be a good capture, and that he knew no other remedy for him except to retrace his steps the same evening of his arrival. This answer sent the Councillor Junius away in amazement. Rubens wrote a letter to the Prince, in which he conjured him by the past testimonies of his gentle generosity, and the benevolence he had witnessed in him, to permit him to see him, that he had not come without a passport, which he had, with his own hand, sent a year ago. The Prince having read his letter, seemed as though he were troubled, but said to Junius, "It must be very ill that may nether be seene nor heard,"[223] and ordered the Sieur Rubens to wait till the morrow. The same evening he made him come secretly to Court. The Prince said to Rubens, that the pretence he had made was only for the States. Thus each plays his comedy: whether on the part of Holland they dissimulate, it is certain, that here they openly ask for their bread, for the love of God.

The Sieur Rubens has been very reserved, only stayed one night at Brussels, returning on the morrow to Antwerp, where he told me he was going to get his despatch ready for a Courier, who would be expedited to Spain on his return. I had the Sieur Rubens followed, to know whether he did not return to Holland. He is not at all communicative, I have got nothing out of him

[222] On $\frac{10}{20}$ December, Gerbier writes that Rubens has gone towards Holland to negotiate the Peace.

[223] Written in English by Sec. Dorchester, who adds,—"a Duch proverb, signifying that nothing can be so ill w^{ch} may not be seene or heard."

except a word he let fall, through my proffering that it appeared to me he had been ill-advised in taking these steps, seeing the conjuncture of the time, which did not allow of the Hollanders making a truce, when their adverse party was so low. He said that when the King of Spain should let Breda escape, that would be the end of the War.

* * * * *

Your Excellency's, &c.,
B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXLVI. B. GERBIER TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, February $\frac{2}{12}$, 1631-2.

Sir:

* * * * *

Mons. Rubens has been written to express, who hastened away the next day; and although he denies he is going to Holland,[224] he does not confess being out of the Treaty. There is great appearance of some secret interview with Monsr. de Boullon, because Monsieur has sent to inquire after him, and it is certain Mons. Rubens must see him.

They negotiate this business so secretly, and do all they can to prevent the Sieur Rubens' first journey from being discovered. This expedition also occurs just as a courier came from Spain, from whence they were expecting an answer to the intelligence which the Sieur Rubens had given his first negotiation.

* * * * *

Sir, &c.,
B. Gerbier.

On the $\frac{9}{19}$ February, Gerbier writes that he will make a little journey to Antwerp, to sound the Sieur Rubens, and try and find out the object of the interview.

224 There is a curious document in the State Paper Office, most probably sent by Gerbier to his government, upon which lines *only* appear to have been drawn, in the first instance, with the words [in Italian] "the height and breadth of the frame," but Gerbier has also written [in French] in some chemical fluid, to prevent it being read,—"The Great Painter Rubens of Antwerp has come here to treat with the Deputies of the States General," &c. This is certainly an evidence of the great secrecy with which these negotiations were carried on.

[*Translated from the Flemish, which see in Appendix* A. No. XXIV.]

CXLVII. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Antwerp, April $\frac{2}{12}$, 1632.

SIR:

I FOUND on my return home the Patent of the "Privileges" of France, together with your letter and those from the Chevalier du Jar and the Sieur Juan Maria. The seal having been quite broken is of no consequence, inasmuch as [the patent] will not have the less effect. I am much obliged for it, and thank you with all my heart, so I shall not fail to testify to the Chevalier du Jar the acknowledgement that he desires from me. He is a strange person, who can make himself valuable everywhere among the greatest. God grant that it may end for the best, as I hope.

This will be delivered to you by the Abbé de Scaglia, with whom I have conversed a little on the affairs of Biscarat, upon which, as I believe, he will give you satisfaction. For whatever Biscarat has charged the Abbé with, he was before fully informed by others, and only came to him to scratch his tongue. I am surprised that the Sieur Juan Maria does not desire to write, and obtain some civility from my hand; nor did I think that we had almost forgotten one another through so long a time. I am sorry to observe that the French do you such ill-offices with Her Highness and our great Ministers, although you need not care about it, as you depend only on your King. Though it may render difficult the affairs which must be treated of with them. I have retired in the nick of time, and never had less regret in any resolution taken by me at any time; and having nothing further, I commend my poor self and my wife, with my whole heart, to your Excellency and your wife, remaining to you both, under all our circumstances,

Your humble Servant,
P. P. RUBENS.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXLVIII. B GERBIER TO SEC. SIR JOHN COKE.[225] (*Extract.*)

SIR:

Brussels, $\frac{\textit{June } 23,}{\textit{July } 3,}$ 1632.

* * * * *

The Sieur Rubens spoke to me somewhat enigmatically, but

[225] In another letter to Sec. Coke of the same date, Gerbier says,—"That the

wrote to me more clearly (as appears by his letter inclosed)[226]. He has now confirmed what Don Carlos told me before his departure, and asked the Ministers here, whether they had taken me for a person in their pay? and if the Sieurs Nicolaldi and Taylor were not to blame, if they were not correct in their informations?

The Sieur Rubens told me, in conclusion, that the Infanta had been pressed to ask for my recall, which she however desisted from, saying, that she would not pretend to judge or give credit to reports, unless they were authentic. I do not know whether the Sieur Rubens is correctly informed upon this subject; but I do feel called upon (as I believed it to be my duty to render an account of these particulars) to intreat, that I may be informed if my conduct is in accordance with His Majesty's pleasure; if it is, my mind will be at rest. Praying God to preserve you in His Safe and Holy Keeping.

Sir, your very humble and very obedient Servant,

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXLIX. MEMORANDUM EXTRACTED FROM GERBIER'S ENTRY BOOK.

July 14, 1632.

The Sieur Rubens told the Sieur Gerbier that he had been written to from England, that the Sieur Gerbier had said, in one of his letters, he believed that His Majesty could, by assisting the Queen-Mother, gain an advantage thereby, for the Spaniards would then declare more frankly against France,[227] which could but facilitate the emersion of the Palatinate. The Sieur Rubens said there were some unfaithfull persons who would repeat this, and, furthermore, that the Infanta had shown him (only an hour ago) a letter written from England, by one of the greatest men, containing frightfull and outrageous things, which might cost several their heads who caballed in this State. The

S[r] des Landes, Sec. to the Queen Mother, came to see him under pretence that the Queen Mother wished to send a Gold chain to *Van Dyck* in *England*, but with the real object of relating the pitiable state into which the Queen Mother was falling more and more every day, farther than ever from succeeding in her hopes."

[226] I regret that I do not find this letter in the State Paper Office.

[227] Sir W. Boswell transmits to the English government a copy of the French King's declaration of war against Spain, $\frac{\text{June } 23}{\text{July } 3}$, 1635.

Sieur Rubens added, they were astonished how in England they risked such things, and continued, he feared (when the Infanta said she had a letter to show him) there might be something fresh about the Sieur Gerbier, but the Sieur Gerbier said he was glad there was nothing which concerned him.

[" *Translation and extract of lres of S^r Peter Reubens unto me B. Gerbier, who had written unto him to draw the said S^r Peter Reubens unto answeares, in writing, to confirme the particulars he had tould me att his being here.*"]

CL. SOMMARY OF HIS LRE OF $\frac{\text{July } 25,}{\text{August } 4,}$ 1632.

I am sorry to understand, by yours of the 3rd of August, that still ill offices are don you to your prejudice, & that you are vexed therew^th.

Though it's not strange that you desire to prevent what might be of prejudice unto your reputation, & would enter into a course of excuses w^th Her Highnesse, whereunto tend the five articles in your letter; Yett, thereupon, I will tell you freely my opinion, touching the letter from England, w^ch, on my soule, marckt not your name, on w^ch you may rest assured.

The letter was written in forme of advertisem^ts unto her Highnes:

Touching the Articles; You must name noe body, and by noe meanes me, w^ch would only ruine me w^th my Maisters & disable me to serve you:

I find noe difficulty in the first & second article, for as much as concernes the French & Biscarat: But, on the third, I doe not thinke fitt you should dive soe deepe into Her Highnesses breast, for I never heard that any thing was written ag^t her owne person.

Likewise I doe not find fitt the 4th for the said reasons, neither the fifth:

It may be her Highnes will open her selfe, as it's common that one word brings on the other, etc. [See also Oct. $\frac{5}{15}$, 1632, p. 172, and June $\frac{19}{29}$, 1633, p. 181.]

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLI. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extracts.*)

Brussels, August $\frac{4}{14}$, 1632.

SIR:

* * * * *

I have been written to from Liege, that the Sieur Rubens was still there, negotiating with the Deputies of the States, although, on the same day, I received a letter from the Sieur Rubens from Antwerp, which makes me think some other person is in his place, being certain that here they wish to complete the Truce, at any price, which is no longer a secret.

* * * * *

The last letters from the Army still assert, that the Sieur Rubens was at Liege, if it is his shadow, the Treaty will have no substance.

* * * * *

Sir, &c.,
B. GERBIER.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLII. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, August $\frac{19}{29}$, 1632.

SIR:

* * * * *

The Sieur Rubens (after having communicated with the Deputies of the States, resident at Liege) started to go to the Prince of Orange on the $\frac{16}{26}$ [August].

* * * * *

Sir, &c.,
B. GERBIER.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLIII. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extracts.*)

Brussels, $\frac{\text{August } 25,}{\text{September } 4,}$ 1632.

SIR:

* * * * *

The Sieur Rubens returned from the Army the $\frac{19}{29}$ August,

about 10 o'clock in the morning. I have heard that, to make his negotiation certain, he is sent to the Hague. That the Deputies, resident at Leige, (principally those of Zeeland) promise great things. That the Assembly of the towns are to meet upon this business of the Truce on the 10th instant. [N. S.] That Leyden and Harlem are the only towns of Holland who are opposed to the said Truce—the consent of Dort, Amsterdam, Alkmaar, and the other towns having been given. That the greater part of the States are for the Truce. That the S^{r} Vosberghen is against it. That after the Assembly of the Towns will be that of the States General. That the result is to be sent to the Prince of Orange, who will, through the aforesaid Deputies, let Rubens understand when he will be able to return. This is what he tells me himself.

* * * * *

That the Infanta, at the same instant [that this mediation is understood to be in the name of His Majesty], would revoke the authority given to the present Negotiators, as she rejected the Duke de Nieuburgh, in the credentials which the Sieur Rubens carried on the part of the Infanta, and in which the Sieur Rubens is authorised to the exclusion of all others.

* * * * *

Sir, &c.,
B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French, by Gerbier.*]

CLIV. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Sommary of the lr̃e of October $\frac{5}{15}$, 1632.

The subject of our dispute is a case incident to any man, that certaine thinges are written, though I will not sustayne that what is written is grounded on thinges to your charge, but, on the contrary, I doe believe that you doe your utmost endeavours to serve the King of Great Brittany your Maister, faithfully & punctually advertise him of what passeth, &c.

CLV. WM. BOSWELL[228] TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Hague, November $\frac{20}{30}$, 1632.

RIGHT HONORABLE:

ACCORDING to yo^r Hon^rs Instructions, I have begun to renewe my acquaintance & correspond^ce w^th the Abbot de la Scaglea,[229] as yo^r Hon^r may see, by y^e copie of my first heer inclosed unto him. The like, in effect, I have written to S^r P. Rubin & for Mons^r Gerbier I write weekly.

* * * * *

Y^r Hon^rs most faithfull & most humble Servant,

WILL^M BOSWELL.

[*Inclosure, translated from the French.*]

CLVI. W. BOSWELL TO THE ABBÉ DE SCAGLIA.

Hague, November $\frac{10}{20}$, 1632.

SIR:

HAVING, but lately, heard that you were still at the Infanta's Court at Brussels, and that you have the same affection, which you always had, for His Majesty the King, my Master, I have thought you would not consider me importunate, if I begged you

[228] William Boswell, Resident for the King of Great Brittain, with the States of the United Provinces, was made Knight by the Lord Vere of Tilbury, and other Comis^rs named in his Maj^ts Letters Patent, in the Army of the said States at Buckstal near Balduck in Brabant, the 25 of July, 1613. The same day that the Prince Elector Palatine received the Order of the Garter, which said Patent or Comis^n bore Teste in England the 8th of June, 1633. There is, in the State Paper Office, a Warrant under the Signet, dated in January 1630-1, to "Patrick Young, Esq., Keeper of His Ma^ts Library, W^m Boswell, Esq., one of the Clerks of H. Ma^ts Privy Councell extraordinary, and Inigo Jones, Esq., Surveyor of H.M. Works, requiring them to take into their custodie certaine ancient Coynes and Medalls of H. M^ts, both Greeke and Romane, in gould, silver, and brasse, and to putt them into such order as they shall thinke fittest for the ready knowledge and use thereof; Requiring also all persons, in whose hands and custodie the said Coynes and Medalls doe remaine, upon sight hereof, to deliver the same unto them." On the 30^th May, 1632. Boswell received an allowance for four years' attendance on the Council of War and other services, by order of the Board. He arrived at the Hague on the 8^th September, 1632, with Instructions as King Charles 1^st Agent, jointly with Sir Dudley Carleton, nephew to Lord Dorchester. In 1633 Boswell was joined in a Patent granted to him and Sir Thomas Randolph, to be Keeper of State Papers for their lives. On the 7^th Oct., 1639, a Warrant was issued to the Exchequer "for an allowance of 40^s by the day to Sir William Boswell, Kn^t, Resident for his Ma^ty with the States of the United Provinces, for his enterteyn^t in that service."

[229] Sec. Coke had instructed Boswell to "renew his old acquaintance with the Abbate de Scaglia, who now carrieth a hand with the Spanish Councils."

to communicate with me, sometimes, on matters affecting the honour and service of His Majesty, particularly on the occasion and overtures of the Treaty (which is in hand) between these Provinces and the others respectively, which I pray God may tend to the public good, and begging that you will always keep me in your good opinion,

I remain, Sir,

Your very humble and very affectionate Servant,

WILL^M^ BOSWELL.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLVII. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, December $\frac{17}{27}$, 1632.

SIR:

* * * * *

The Sieur Rubens told me that he had heard his Majesty would do the Dutch, if they wished, a good turn, respecting the truce with the King of Spain.

* * * * *

Sir, &c.

B. GERBIER.

Gerbier writes from Brussels $\frac{29 \text{ Dec. } 1632}{8 \text{ Jan. } 1633}$. The Sieur Rubens, who was written for express, came here to day to consult immediately upon the expedients to facilitate the truce, of which he had made the first draught.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLVIII. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extracts.*)

Brussels, January $\frac{5}{15}$, 1632-3.

SIR:

* * * * *

It seems that these Ministers of Spain intend waiting some days for the return of the courier, who went to Madrid on the 4th of this month; and that, on the other side, they think to renew the business at the point where Rubens left it, who was proceeding in *directa linia* from the King of Spain to the States General. Rubens having this morning sent a despatch to the Hague to the

Deputy of the States General, Terestyn, who was one of those with whom he had been in communication.

The Sieur Rubens has been sent for here to give account (by command of the Infanta) to the said Deputies, of passages and particulars of his negotiation, in order that they might be aware of the conditions which, they say, those on the other side seem inclined to entertain. Rubens' account, probably, related only to those terms which he turns to the account of the Spaniards, and which may be the reason why these States are suspicious of him.

So much for the two points; the delay in the departure of the Deputies, and the coming of Rubens.

* * * * *

Sir, &c.

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLIX. B. GERBIER TO MONS. AUGIER.[230] (*Extract.*)

Brussels, January $\frac{11}{21}$, 1632-3.

Sir:

* * * * *

The Deputies are about leaving, but it appears that the Spaniards have been long awaiting the return of the courier from Spain, and some answer to the despatch which Rubens sent to the Sieur Terestyn at the Hague. That the Spaniards feel they have only got the eel by the tail, and do not know how to disengage themselves from these States. In the beginning their journey was with the approbation of the Spaniards, but on their return, insisting upon the point of the *pleni-potentia*, they convinced them how unsatisfactory their proposition was, and urged them, as an act of duty, to endeavour to modify the articles.

* * * * *

B. Gerbier.

CLX. W. BOSWELL TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Hague, January $\frac{17}{27}$, 1632-3.

Right Honorable:

* * * * *

For the Treaty in expectation between these and the other

[230] René Augier and Henry Devic were King Charles 1st "Agents in France," for which employment they each received an allowance of 20*s.* per diem.

Provinces (whereof I gave yo^r Hon^r y^e trew state in my former) the Deputies, who went to Bruxelles by promise and expectacõn to have been heer againe the 12th current. st. no. are not yet come, being very loth, it seemes, to part w^th out such powre from th' Infanta and their King as may suffise for going thorough w^th the Treaty wherin they are engaged, at least be expedient for their owne coming of, w^th safety to themselves, and satisfacõn to their Assembly, and severall Provinces. S^r P. Rubens hath lately had a *Salvo-Condotto* granted him by the States Gẽrall, in probability to follow hether, when the Dep^ties (who wilbe heer er long) shall have mollified the States demands, and bring both Commission and Instruccõn's requisit from his Mast^r, both for the Dep^ties and himself, in case y^e Dep^ties finde cause to invite him heth^r.

* * * * *

Yo^r Hon^rs
most humble and faithfull servant,
Will^m Boswell.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLXI. B. GERBIER TO W. BOSWELL. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, January $\frac{18}{28}$, 1632-3.

Sir:

* * * * *

The Sieur Rubens, by command of the Infanta, has been sent for to this court, to give an account of his negotiations, during his journeys to Holland, Mæstricht, and Liege. He will have to inform the States here, and their Deputies of the articles which have been proposed at these conferences, and of the communications which he had, both with those States as well as these, which he was sure were indispensable for the Truce. To say that his account was as an unbuttoned doublet I cannot; but there is great jealousy on both sides. The Spaniards acknowledge their mistake in having diverged from their first designs, and committed themselves with these States, who wish an end to the war at any price, because they are sensible of the infallible ruin of their country, if they do not place themselves in a position, which will make them agreeable to their neighbours, and which will also render their present enemies tractable.

But, to return to the Sieur Rubens, these States have made several complaints that he kept up a correspondence in Holland

and endeavoured to negotiate to their injury, and that he demanded a passport, from which they concluded he wished to go over there. The Sieur Rubens informed them, that he had but asked for a renewal of the pass which the Prince of Orange had previously given him. I told you, in my last, that he had written to the Sieur Terestyn, on which account these States have been so very jealous, that you might as soon have seen the Sieur Rubens in company with the States in Holland, as fire and water agreeing together, for the Duke d'Arschot has a great aversion to him, for several reasons, too long to relate. If ever you see the Sieur Rubens with powers at the Hague, I am greatly deceived if they will serve to make a good understanding with the States, for the excesses which the Spaniards suffer in their authority and re-establishment in these Provinces, and in the hearts of these people, are capable of bringing about a crisis the end of which will be fatal.

* * * * *

B. Gerbier.

CLXII. W. BOSWELL TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Right Honourable: *Hague,* $\frac{\text{January } 24,}{\text{February } 3,}$ 1632-3.

* * * * *

Since my last of 27 Jan^{y}. st. no. the 5 Dep^{ties} of the other side are now 2 dayes since returned hither, with Comission, as I understand, only to report to their Superiours at Bruxelles, w^{ch} cometh farre shorte of what they promised and must performe, before any truce, cessation of Armes, or Treaty, will be obtayned here. I heare S^{r} P. Rubens is quite of, of any employments this waie, especially by the opposicõn of the Dep^{ties}, because hee is none of their bodie, if not rather because he is an immediat Minister of their King, and having more sperit then any member of them, hath acquired so much more envie among them.

* * * * *

Yo^{r} Hon^{rs} &c.

Will^{m} Boswell.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLXIII. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Sir *Brussels,* $\frac{\text{January } 26,}{\text{February } 5,}$ 1632-3.

* * * * *

The Sieur Terestyn having procured a passport signed by the

States General for the Sieur Rubens, he has come here to know the Infanta's pleasure, who has put off his journey, until intelligence is first received as to the negotiations of the Deputies of these States.

The States, on the other side, meet with very great advantages in this conjuncture; for as the Spaniards seem to wish to do their utmost, that these States should not be able to make themselves Master of Affairs (whither tends that agreement which they force themselves to concert) the Spaniards (in their extreme need) hasten to offer such good terms for the truce, as that the Hollanders may accept it, and emulation is so great to be Masters of it, that they seem to outvie one another as to who shall offer the most. This is the foundation of the Sieur Rubens' journey, altho' under pretext of carrying his papers, and giving explanations of his preceding negotiations to the Deputies there, so that they may be fully informed of the conditions already agreed upon, and of the conferences which the Sieur Rubens had at the Hague, Maestricht and Liege.

It will be seen, by my former letters, that the Sieur Rubens was sent for here on the same subject; and it also appears that his account related only to particular passages; this is very certain, as it was the cause of the Duke of Arschot and some of the Deputies being jealous of the Sieur Rubens, and protesting to the Infanta against the violent injury to their reputation and probity, by his refusal to transmit his papers to them. Rubens, however, acted according to the express command of the Infanta, who made him retire to Antwerp, three days before the departure of the Deputies, with especial orders not to see any body, nor, on any account, to let the said papers go out of his hands; all of which confirms what has been alledged.

The Duke of Arschot arrived at Antwerp, was waiting for the Sieur Rubens to bring his said papers: but Rubens was not seen by any body, and wrote what he had to say, upon which the Duke of Arschot took occasion to send him an angry letter resenting his conduct; the conclusion being, that the Sieur Rubens' proceedings were not conformable to his quality, which could not allow of his writing to the Duke of Arschot without pretending to be his equal.[231] There

[231] The following letters, printed in French by Alfred Michiels, pp. 171—173, are those alluded to by Gerbier. The first is from Rubens to the Duke of Arschot. "My Lord: I am very grieved to hear of the resentment Your Excellency has shown upon the demand of my passport, for I am proceeding in good faith, and beg of you to

is no news, as yet, of the arrival of the Deputies at the Hague; meanwhile the Sieur Rubens remains at Antwerp until further notice.

* * * * *

Sir, &c.

B. Geriber.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLXIV. B. GERBIER TO W. BOSWELL. (*Extract.*)

Sir: *Brussels, January 30, February 9,* 1632-3.

* * * * *

There is no news of the arrival of the Deputies at the Hague. The Sieur Rubens has left here, and is awaiting at Antwerp the Infanta's resolution, who sent for him back after the departure of the Deputies. He has received his passport, signed by the States General on the other side, who will take special care to fail in the truce, seeing there is so much emulation amongst the offerers [proposers of the peace]. If the Sieur Rubens goes to Holland,

believe, that I shall always render a good account of my actions. Also, I protest before God, that I have never had other commission from my superiors, than to serve your Excellency in every way, in the procurement of this business, so necessary for the King's service, and for the *preservation of the country*, and I should consider him unworthy of life, who, for his own private interests, would cause the least delay to it. Nevertheless, I do not see what inconvenience would have arisen, if I had carried my papers to the Hague, and delivered them into Your Excellency's hands, without any other commission or capacity than to offer you my very humble service, desiring nothing in this world so much, as opportunities to show effectually that I am with all my heart, &c." The Duke of Arschot's reply: "Monsieur Rubens: I have seen by your letter, the sorrow you express, because I had shown resentment upon the demand of your passport. You also say that you are proceeding in good faith, and beg of me to believe that you will always render a good account of your actions. I might well have omitted doing you the honour to reply, for having so notably failed in your duty, by not coming in person to find me, without being so confidant as to write me this letter, which is very well for persons who are equal; since I was at the Inn from eleven to half past twelve o'clock, and returned there at half past five o'clock in the evening, and you had plenty of leisure to speak to me. Nevertheless, I will tell you that all the assembly who are at Brussels, thought it very strange, that after having entreated Her Highness, and requested the Marquis d'Aytona to send for you, to communicate your papers to us, which you wrote me you have, and which they promised to us, instead of this, that you should have demanded a passport; it is of very little importance to me how you are proceeding, and what account of your actions you render. All that I can say is, I shall be very glad that you should learn for the future, how persons in your position should write to those in my station."

it will be after the Deputies have given their first advices; his pretext will be to carry papers to the Deputies, and enlighten them on those points in which he had treated.

* * * * *

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLXV. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Sir: *Brussels,* $\frac{\textit{February } 23,}{\textit{March } 5,}$ 1632-3.

* * * * *

The Spanish Ministers have requested the Deputies to procure a passport from the States on the other side for the Sieur Vanden Wouwer,[232] one of the Commissioners of Finance, a comrade of the Sieur Rubens, who will not go, on account of the aversion and misunderstanding between him and the Duke of Arschot. These Spanish Ministers say, as a pretext for sending the Sieur Vanden Wouwer, that he will inform the Deputies, on the other side, of the wishes of the King of Spain, which the States here take very ill, it being notorious, that if the Spanish Ministers design to continue the Treaty by their negotiation, they should have enlightened and explained everything to the said States. That then the sending of the Sieur Vanden Wouwer would serve for this design; and these States are the more confirmed in this belief, through having discovered, that the Spaniards had endeavoured to conceal the Sieur Rubens' negotiation, of which the States, on the other side, had shown to the Deputies a copy of the Articles, in rough draft, made at the Conferences of Liege and Maestricht, between the Prince of Orange and the Sieur Rubens.

* * * * *

Sir, &c.,
B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLXVI. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Sir: *Brussels, March* $\frac{9}{19}$, 1632-3.

* * * * *

The Sieur Josias Vosberghen[233] mediates here in the universal

[232] See ante p. 113, note 144.

[233] See ante p. 112, note 143.

negotiation. He made a journey into Holland, after his return obtained a passport for a person, who, it is said, came with him from Holland, and who is incognito at Antwerp, treating with the Sieur Rubens, with the consent of the Infanta and the Marquis d'Aytona.

* * * * *

B. Gerbier.

CLXVII. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR. J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, June $\frac{19}{29}$, 1633.

My singulare very good Lord:

Affaires here for the present appeare with this face, That as from the beginning of interveus and parlies between S^r Peter Rubens and his correspondents, on the Holland side, for to compasse a Truce, the Spanish Ministers thought fitt to give way to the negotiation, soe, having cause not to incline soe much to a parlie betweene theise States and those of Holland, the said Spaniards (when the Catholique States were entred in conference with the Hollanders) kept a secret correspondence on foot with some of the Holland side, either to crosse the negotiation of the Catholique States, or to make use of the said secret correspondence, when the Catholike States negotiation should faile, or prove contrary to their interests. And soe these Spanish Ministers (affectioned to truce) still make use of Vande Wouwere, one of the Comis of Finances who was joined with S^r Peter Rubens.

* * * * *

Your Lords^{ps}

Most humble and obedient Servant,

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French, by Gerbier.*]

CLXVIII. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Summary of the letter of June $\frac{19}{29}$, 1633.

I wonder att the brutall proceedings of S^r Nicolaldy & Taylor in your regard; I take to my charge, the first time I shall come to Bruxelles, to try the Infanta her pulse on the calomnies laid on you, &c.

CLXIX. SIR W^M BOSWELL TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Hague, December $\frac{2}{12}$, 1633.

RIGHT HONORABLE :

THE publiq aff^res of this place are still (as in my former) nothing new arisen or advanced. Their Treaty w^th the Cath: Provinces for a truce being dead, as they believe, with th' Infanta; because their proceedings in this behalf, were wholly fownded upon a substitucõn from her High^es, and poursued by her gr^t piety and desire of some peaceable accomodacõn: w^ch a successor of young & warmer blood will hardly entertaine w^th the like devotion.

* * * * *

Yo^r Hon^rs, &c.,
WILLIAM BOSWELL.

CLXX. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, May $\frac{9}{19}$, 1634.

RIGHT HON^BLE :

* * * * *

It's said Mr. Taylor,[234] e're his coming to Bruxelles, went to Antwerpe, to offer S^r Peter Reubens a pention, if for his M^ter service (he) would take his dwelling att Bruxels, & correspond w^th England.

* * * * *

Y^r Hon^rs, &c.,
B. GERBIER.

CLXXI. B. GERBIER TO SIR ARTHUR HOPTON. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, May $\frac{13}{23}$, 1634.

SIR :

* * * * *

I wonder much the Duke of Arscot should have accused, amongst strangers, the honest Marquis de Vieuville, for I conceive him as unfit a subject to frame a lye on as S^r Peter Rubens, who

[234] John Taylor, his Ma^ties Agent at Vienna, was sent into Spain for his Majesty's affairs, as appears by an account to May 24, 1625,—"the tyme he returned home," wherein he also prays for reward "for seven yeares in his Ma^ties service, having gon many long and dangerous journeys." There is a Warrant dated February 28, 1635-6, to pay to "John Taylor, Esq., his Majesty's Agent at Vienna, 500*l.* without accompt."

y^e^ Duke of Arscot said to have made patternes of tapistry hangings for the Prince of Orange, in w^ch^ the King of Spaine and his subjects most hideously represented, w^ch^ invention proves but malice of the said Duke, S^r^ Peter Rubens never having thought on such a thing.

* * * * *

B. Gerbier.

CLXXII. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, June $\frac{6}{16}$, 1634.

Right Hon^ble^:

S^r^ Peter Rubens, being the 10^th^ present come to towne to conferre w^th^ the Marquis d'Aytona on the diking about Antwerp, visited me & showed me an extract of that part of Duke D'Arscot's deposition wherein an English Secretary is named—S^r^ Peter Rubens told me I was meant by the name of an English Secretary: Spaine calling by that title such as are not Ambas^rs^, wisht me to take notice of it: I asked him whether he had order to tel me soe much; said to have shewen me the said Extract in confidence, moved thereunto of himselfe.

I said to wonder as much att Duke D'Arscott's invention on an English Secretary, as S^r^ Peter Rubens might for y^e^ said Duke's false accusation of tapistry paternes made for the Prince of Orange, wherein the King of Spaine & his subjects said by S^r^ Peter Rubens abused.

* * * * *

B. Gerbier.

The documents preserved in the State Paper Office, do not furnish evidence as to when Rubens was commissioned to paint the Decorations for the Banqueting House at Whitehall; but a letter from Rubens himself, proves that as early as September, 1621,[235] he was the artist selected for that work. It was most probably in 1629, on the occasion of his first and only visit to England,[236] that he was commissioned to paint these magnificent

[235] See ante pp. 59—61.

[236] Rubens only traced the sketches of the several pictures during his stay in London; he began the paintings on his return to Antwerp, and it is believed Jordaens assisted him with them. (Alfred Michiels, p. 170.)

pictures, the sketches of which he made during his stay in London.

The following correspodence will show that Rubens had completed these pictures, for which he was to receive 3000*l.*, before August, 1634; and although Gerbier writes to Charles I., as also to Sir Toby Matthew on the 1st August, 1634,[237] that "the great workes Sir Peter Rubens hath made for Y^r^ Maj^ts^ Banquetting house, lye here, as if for want of money," he does not appear to have been instructed before July, 1635,[238] "to assist in sending the Cases of Pictures" to England; and then a correspondence ensued, as to how they were to pass "free of license," which caused a month's delay. So long a time had elapsed since Rubens had completed them, that "he resolved to overpaint most of the said pieces att his owne house."[239] It became necessary to "retouch and mend the cracks which had been caused through their having been rolled up almost a whole year,"[240] and he feared that, when he had passed into England, he might be taken with the gout, which had only lately confined him to his bed for a whole month, and would prevent him from placing the pictures, and retouching them if necessary.

It was not until the 3rd of September, 1635, that Gerbier wrote to Rubens, informing him that "His Maj^ty^ will reimburse the expenses of the free license, in case the said Pictures are charged with any, and, that he will, with pleasure, repay your bills."[241] The two cases of pictures were delivered by Rubens to Lyonel Wake,[242] a Merchant at Antwerp, who sent them to Dunkirk, by waggon, on the 28th September, 1635,[243] to be put on board the first ship for London. They were addressed to William Cokayn, a Merchant in England, who was instructed to give notice to Secretary Windebanke of their arrival in England, that they might be sent for, and presented to His Majesty. Rubens sent "one of porpose[244] to sett up the pictures," but he became "soe desperate sicke, as unable to performe the journey, so another was made choice[245] of," and they reached England in October, 1635, fifteen months after they were originally finished, and about six years after Rubens had most probably been commissioned to paint them. It will also be observed, that the

[237] See p. 185. [238] See p. 191. [239] See p. 196.
[240] See p. 194. [241] See p. 195. [242] See p. 201.
[243] See p. 200. [244] See p. 200. [245] See p. 200.

first sum of 800*l.* "in parte of payment of 3000*l.* due to him by his Ma^tie for picturs," was not paid until the 18th of November, 1637,[246] and that seven months elapsed before the last payment of 350*l.*[247] was made; a period of more than two years and a half, having intervened, from the time they reached England, until Rubens was paid in full for these pictures.[248]

CLXXIII. B. GERBIER TO KING CHARLES I.

Brussels, August $\frac{1}{11}$, 1634.

May it please y^R Maj^TY:

Being an infallible truth I may not, will, nor dare not willingly displease y^r Maj^ty. W^thout scrupule may I then relate what malitious tongues or ignorant spirits utter seing the great worke S^r Peter Rubens hath made for y^r Maj^ts Banqueting house, lye here, as if for want of money. Spaniards, French, & other nations talke of it, the more it's said the matter to reach but to 3 or 4 thousand pounds. Having noe other interest in this then y^r Maj^ts hon^r, I remaine confident what noted wilbe taken as y^e duty of

Y^r Maj^ti &c.

B. Gerbier.

CLXXIV. B. GERBIER TO SIR TOBY MATTHEW.

Brussels, August $\frac{1}{11}$, 1634.

S^R:

It's known you love my Lord Treas^r, I must not doubt of it w^thout to wrong his Lo^p and you. My choise being soe good, take then (I conjure you) a fitt hower to represent unto his L. Spaniards, French & other nations here, who frequent S^r Peter Rubens house, talke much y^e greate workes he hath made for the banqueting house lye in his as arrested for want of money to call him & the said worke into England. The matter is conceived to reach 3 or 4

[246] See p. 203.

[247] See p. 205.

[248] The following extract of a letter from Sir W. Boswell, the King's Resident at the Hague, to Sec. Windebanke, is an evidence of the condition in which King Charles I.'s finances were about this time. Hague, $\frac{10}{20}$ December, 1635. "Yo^r Hon^r will perceive how earnest Mr. Calandrini, and the Parties, who have his Ma^ties Jewells at pawne heer, are for their moneys, principall & interest w^th expence, haveing (as he writes unto mee) by Pub. Notary insinuated unto him, That paym^t be made by a certaine day, or, for default, they would put the Jewells to reall and publiq sale, for their satisfacõn."

thousand pounds. In God's name must he be expedited, that y^e^ world may have noe subject to talke, & my Lo. Treas^r^ an eminent one to show his care, I should be guilty, if to much tendernes did keepe me silent on a matter, w^ch^, to my hearing here, toucheth the King's honor. Pray take wel theise few lines of

Y^r^ &c.

B. Gerbier.

CLXXV. B. GERBIER TO SIR TOBY MATTHEW.

Brussels, August $\frac{15}{25}$, 1634.

S^r^:

If, for want of true Engl: phrases, my last, of the $\frac{1}{11}$ pres^t^ to you, hath not exprest my meaning, as seemes by yours of $\frac{8}{18}$ to me, the trouble of this carrieth excuse along w^th^ it, of w^ch^ confident if y^u^ are still my friend.

What I have touched (conceaving fitt my Lord Treas^r^ by your polished tongue to be acquainted of people's talkes, pictures for his Maj^ts^ banqueting house lye uncalled att S^r^ Peter Rubens) was my duty, proper to a Royall Sentinel to relate what come to his hearing, there leave it, though whensoever called from his watch, may be (as most men) led to severall and particular affections. *J'ay mon espingle au jeu aussy bien qu'un autre*,[249] and, therefore, if by theise few lines I can expresse my selfe, I may be sure you will approve (charity beginning att home) I should doe good offices for myselfe, ere to strangers, by whom my chimney doth not smoake. What offices y^u^ doe for S^r^ Peter Reubens as you say, to have made your taske of it, pray lett that goe on his score, cause I meane not to render thankes for it.

I receive soe smal comfort, as it were noe wonder a man w^th^ like charge, I live here languishing for allowances, should yield to the severe Philosopher erecting gallies, mine to differ his, heming in my selfe, if fitt, and wish the world to live noe longer till wearied as

Yo^rs^ &c.

B. Gerbier.

[249] I have my stake in the game as well as another.

CLXXVI. B. GERBIER TO SEC. S^R F. WINDEBANK.

RIGHT HON^BLE:

Brussels, $\frac{\textit{August } 22,}{\textit{September } 1,}$ 1634.

I HAVE rec^d y^r hon^rs letter of y^e 16 Aprill last, by the hands of Mr. Naviland, imployed by his Maj^ty, for y^e procuring of greeke matrices or caracters. Mr. Naviland tells me to have ben att Antwerp w^th y^e printer, who hath y^e best Matrices of greeke caracters, but hath not sped: The Printer will not, for money or love part from any Caracters, lesse Matrices: I have writt about y^e same to S^r Peter Rubens who hath creditt in y^t towne: And cause y^r hon^r doth recommend the busines, w^th expresse of his Maj^ts pleasure, I doe intend, w^th God's grace, to make for Antwerp & try the utternost what may be don in y^t matter, if the party will understand noe reason, it must not breake my heart, since it's not in man's power to force such as stand in free will.[250] Humbly taking leave, &c.

B. GERBIER.

On the 7th April, 1635, Prince Ferdinand, Governor of the Netherlands, and brother to Philip IV. King of Spain, made his public entry into Antwerp.[251] The triumphal arches,[252] eleven in number, through which he passed, were, at the solicitation of the magistrates of the city, designed by Rubens. He was, however, unable to take any part in the proceedings, being, unfortunately, confined to his house by a severe fit of the gout, with which he

[250] Gerbier writes on y^e $\frac{29\ \text{Aug.}}{8\ \text{Sept.}}$, that he has been to Antwerp & prevailed with the chief Printer there, "who will furnish Mr. Naviland with caracters, but not matrices, they are kept as each good man his wife—the casting of s^d caracters will require six weeks time."

[251] On $\frac{10}{20}$ April, 1635, Gerbier writes from Mechlin to Sec. Coke,—"The Infant Card^l begun 16^th pres [N. S.] his journey for Antwerp, landed that afternoone att the Castle where lay all night, next day 3 of the clocke afternoone made his Entry into the citty adorned w^th many triumphant arches & other showes, att w^ch y^e Spaniards wondered much, & y^t the people could be att such charges. The Infant Card^l hath ben extreamely pleased & satisfied w^th his said entertaynm^t, w^ch hath bin made good by extraord^y faire weather, stayes now for a convenient tide to retourne by Mechlen."

There is a very interesting volume describing this event, and illustrated with a series of twenty-nine plates after the designs of Rubens, the letterpress written by his intimate friend Gaspar Gevaerts. It is entitled, *Gevarsii pompa introitus Ferdinandi Austriaci, Hispaniar: Infantis, &c., in Urbem Antuerpiam cum inscript et comment.*" Folio, Antwerp, 1642. (Carpenter, p. 169.)

[252] They are all fully described by Michel, pp. 208—246.

was, at this period of his life, very often afflicted. The Prince, who was acquainted with the great artist when in Spain and Brussels, on learning the cause of his absence, paid him a visit, and remained some time examining his gallery of pictures and his works of art.[253]

[*Translated from the Italian, which see in Appendix* A.[254] No. XXV.]

CLXXVII. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [N. C. FABRI DE PEIRESC].

Antwerp, May $\frac{21}{31}$, 1635.

Most illustrious and much honored Sir:

You will have already seen by my former letter that I have received, through Mons. Le Gris, the news of the successful issue of my *Processo in Parlamento*. I am indebted to the favours and good offices of your friends, as I have written more at large to you with my thanks, though far below your deserts, which entail on me a perpetual gratitude, so long as I have sense and life to be able to honour and serve you with all my energies. Mr. Auberey intimates to me that my opponents will not yield, but have presented *Requeste Civile*, which has been placed in the hands of Counsellor Saunier to look over and make his report on. I do not understand chicanery, and am so simple as to have thought, that a decree of the Court of Parliament was the final decision of a lawsuit, without appeal or after reply, as the sentences here of the sovereign councils; and I cannot, therefore, imagine what can be the object of this *richiesta*. I did not fail to send immediately to Madame Saunier the impressions of my prints, as requested by

[253] Michel says, pp. 247—248,—This was not the first visit of its kind that Rubens received; in June 1625 the Infanta Isabella honored him with a visit, at Antwerp, on her return from Breda, accompanied by her first Minister and Generalissimo, the Marquis Spinola, and Prince Sigismund of Poland, as did also Marie de Medicis, when she passed through Antwerp in 1631.

[254] The original letter was found in a copy of the Luxembourg Gallery, formerly belonging to the Rev. Mr. Cracherode, and now in the Print Room of the British Museum. The above translation was sent by Mr. W. H. Carpenter to, and printed in the Athenæum [No. 1490, May 17, '56, p. 617], with the following prefatory remarks. "There is no address on it, but there is great reason to believe that it was written to the celebrated Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc; for in the volume of *Lettres inédites de P. P. Rubens*, published by Emile Gachet at Brussels in 1841, at p. 253, will be found a letter, in Italian, addressed by Rubens to this eminent man, from Antwerp, of the date of the 16th August, 1635, having reference to the same subjects set forth in the present letter. By a note at p. 83 of the same volume, it will also be seen that Peiresc had obtained for Rubens a Privilege for the sale, in France, of the Prints engraved from his works."

M. Le Gris in his way through the place, who, when I requested him to make known to me what was requisite to provide for the costs, douceurs, and acknowledgments due to those who have co-operated in this matter, begged me to defer it till his return [excepting only to Madame Saunier, which he wished should be done immediately[255]], as he did not happen to have the account, and was anxious to make the distribution with his own hand, and that in the meanwhile he had left special orders that nothing should be wanting for the rest. He assured me, that Mr. Auberey had taken on himself to get everything necessary for the entire settlement of the thing, but he did not tell me that he would disburse any money, as I perceive, from the copy of the letter to you, that he has paid 20 escus quarts for the fees, of which he does not make mention in that which he wrote to me on the 22nd of May. Now, I do not know how to act; whether I ought to repay this sum only to Mr. Auberey immediately, or wait the return of M. Le Gris, or whether to write to Mr. Auberey, supposing he had disbursed for the expenses of my suit in the absence of M. Le Gris what was necessary, in order to take up the judgment and other things. I beg of him to make known to me how much it is, that I may reimburse him the first opportunity, as I will do speedily, and I shall add some trifle as a mark of gratitude. As to the scruple of the triennial interval, between the first and last privilege, it originates in the ciphers of the year marked under the lesser Crucifixion [1632], which are written with such ambiguity that one is not able to discern whether the last figure is 1 or 2, though it must necessarily be a 2, but its horns and projections are not sufficiently indicated. It is well known, however, to all the world that in the year 1631 [? see p. 157] I was in England, and it was impossible to have done this engraving in my absence, having been retouched (as is always the custom) many times with my own hand. Since this doubt has not been mooted by the opposite party, there is no occasion to place it in dispute. We shall see what will be done with the *Requeste*. We are in great trouble from the passing of the French army to the assistance of the Dutch, which [near to Marche en Famine] has put to rout Prince Don Thomas,[256] of greater importance, on

[255] The passages within brackets are in the Margin of the MS.

[256] Prince Tomaso, youngest son of the Grand Duke of Savoy, and Governor of the Province of Lisera, some six miles from Shambri. (Intelligence from Turin, $\frac{21}{31}$ May, 1630.)

account of the disrepute and fright, than of the loss, very few having been killed; but the greater part of the drums of the infantry are taken, together with the artillery and baggage. This loss is attributed to the temerity of the general, who, without spies and without being well informed as to the number, force, or movements of his adversary, would come into action with so great disadvantage, that he was defeated in less than half an hour. Many people saved themselves in a neighbouring wood, or from the bad state of the country. It is certain, that the rupture between the two Crowns is come to the culminating point, which gives me great uneasiness, being by nature and choice a peaceful man, and an especial enemy to disputes, lawsuits, and quarrels, both public and private. Besides which, I do not know if in time of war the privilege of his Majesty will be valid, and, in that case, all our labours and expenses to obtain the decision in Parliament, for the purpose of maintaining it will be in vain; and, above all, I dread the States of the United Provinces will oblige me to keep their privileges inviolable, in time of open war, so that our correspondence will run the risk of another cessation for some years,—not on my part, but, probably, you being a person of eminence and in high office, may not be able to carry it on, without incurring some suspicion. I shall always conform, though with infinite concern, to whatever shall be necessary for your tranquillity and security. With this, humbly kissing your hands, in great truth, I remain,

Most illustrious and reverend Sir,

Your most humble and obliged Servant,

Peter Paul Rubens.

[Of the little box we have, as yet, had no tidings, and I am, by God's grace, recovering from my gout. I have given orders for the trifles you desired; but with respect to the medals, with those notes of Monsieur Rockox,[257] hitherto he has not been able to find any.]

To conclude, the wonders that you tell me of the movement of the stones *versus centrum gravitatis* (which I perfectly understand), and towards the circumference of the centre of the place where they are formed; of this I ingenuously confess, up to this time, not to have found any one mentioning it, nor do I understand, how it

[257] He was the friend of Rubens, and one of the greatest lawyers in the city of Antwerp, see ante note 20, p. 6.

takes place, if you do not explain yourself more clearly; and so also appears incomprehensible, the cause of that sympathetic movement in the bladder of that relative of yours, who is ill with the motions of the moon, but my time being up, on account of certain interruptions, I must leave these most charming discussions, most tasteful to my palate, to a better opportunity, and again I kiss your hand.

CLXXVIII. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, July $\frac{10}{20}$, 1635.

Right Hon^ble:

I have y^r letter dated 3^d present, there w^th his Maj^ts commands I should take order the peeces of paynting made by S^r Peter Rubens, for the seeling in the Bancquetting-house, may passe w^thout paying custom, and to assist him in sending the casses of pictures into Zeland, were they are to be putt in som English bottome, for their more safe transportation.

I have written unto S^r Pieter Rubens, to know of him of what custom desires to be free, for if itt be of the Holland side, it's necessary S^r William Boswell informed of his Maj^ts pleasure concerning the same. Iff of this side custom, weather the matter deserves sueing for itt, w^ch I thought fitt to aske him, cause those of these Finances soe precise, as refused me flatt the passage of stone from Namur into Holland, att the request of one M^r Stone, who would have imploied the said stone on her Maj^ts worckes, in Denmarc House guardin, w^ch first refusall would make me shunne (iff had my choise) to begg any like courtesy att theire hands; howsoever, I shall follow my prescribed rulle, S^r Peter Rubens standing in need of what required concerning the said custome, and assist him in the transportation of his pictures for Zeland w^th my best adresse.

* * * * *

Y^r hon^rs
most humble & obedient Servant,
B. Gerbier.

CLXXIX. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK.

Brussels, July $\frac{17}{27}$, 1635.

RIGHT HON^BLE:

I ACCUSED in my last letter, dated $\frac{10}{20}$ pres^t, the receate of y^rs of the 3^rd, and said to have written unto S^r Pieter Rubens, to knowe weather desired his pictures for his Maj^ts Bancketting-house free of this countrie licent or Holland, case of Holl^d, requisite S^r Will^m Boswell receaves his Maj^ts orders to procure the said freedom theire, and case meant free licent from this side only, could wish noe necessity to move the sute, these Financiers greedy, and theire former refuse considered, as I mentioned in my last.

S^r Pieter Rubens hath since written two letters unto me; exprest in his first to desire I would repaire to Antwerpe, and receave (as his Maj^ts Minister heire) the afore said pictures, take order for their transportation by Zeeland, and cleere the licent, w^ch he saith will amount above five or six in the hundred [that is to say, of the value of the pictures], except the Infant Card^l pleased to quitt his right, as the late Infanta was pleased, for the transportation of such pictures S^r Pieter Rubens made for Q. Mothers gallery att Paris.

I answeared unto S^r Pieter Rubens first letter, would repaire to Antwerpe, iff my presence and that formality to receave those pictures in his Maj^ts name, necessary.

That he should doe well to make use of his friends w^th the Infant Cardinal, that I might be assured (before hand) to receave noe deniall when should speake or write for the freeing of the licents for the said pictures. S^r Peter Rubens saith, on my second letter, would willing make a step heither, iff not stayed by the goute and the Court absent, would use means w^th the Marquis d'Aytona (his ould friend) touching the aforesaid licents, but apprehends itt would not be well taken he should sue for the licent when his Maj^ty hath a resident in this court; saith to conceave (by the sence of my letter unto him) I should be of opinion S^r Peter Rubens obliged to deliver his worke in Enghland, w^ch consequently should imply he must cleere the licents w^ch he saith practised noe were, and never was subject unto, Finally saith, conceaves I should doe well to procure an order from his Maj^ty to pay the licents, case not remitted, and all such other charges more as may arise concerning the said pictures transportation, Leaving to my choise

to make for Antwerpe for as much imports consyning the pictures unto me.

All w^ch considered, y^r hon^r wilbe pleased to prescribe me his Maj^ts further orders, Weather I shall, in his Maj^ts name, sue for the freeing of licent, and iff I shall charge myselfe w^th the pictures, case S^r Peter Rubens should att last shunne the care for theire safe transportation into Enghland. Also, y^r hon^r pleased to direct what more requisite for all such charges of licent, or expences for theire transportation, w^ch iff done out of hand the better, cause such conbersome bulks as the picture casses wilbe, require the best season of the sommer for transportation, Itt being what I have to say touching that matter, Humbly take my leave, and rest

Y^r Hon^r,
most humble obedient Servant,
B. Gerbier.

CLXXX. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK.

Right Hon^ble: *Brussels*, $\frac{July\ 31,}{August\ 10,}$ 1635.

By my last of $\frac{17}{27}$ July humbly craved to know, whether I should engage his Maj^ts name to demand free passage for S^r Peter Rubens pictures, made to fitt his Maj^ts banqueting house, cause y^e said S^r Peter Rubens likes noe charges, & yo^r Hon^rs letter to me, 3^d that month, leaves the words following: viz:

"There is a busines, w^ch His Maj^ty hath commanded me to recommend to yo^r care, w^ch is, that you take order y^t the peeces of painting, made by S^r Peter Rubens for y^e seeling in the banqueting house, here may passe w^th out paying customes, & y^t you assist S^r Peter in sending the Cases of pictures into Zealand, where they are to be put into some English bottome, for their more safe transportation hether."

I touched in my said letter of the $\frac{17}{27}$ S^r Peter Rubens said the Customes would amount above five or six in the hundred, w^ch, according S^r Peter Rubens seemes to esteeme his said worke for the banqueting house, may amount to three hundred sixty pounds and above, w^ch considered moved me, in the second, to crave y^t hon^r to direct what more requisite for all such charges of lycent, or expences for the transportation.

Your H^rs last to me of 24 July saith to have had noe com-

mission concerning y^e^ Customes, his Maj^ty^ never intending to be suter to y^e^ Infant Card^l^, nor to hinder his Officers, the Customers, in soe small & inconsiderable a trifle, y^e^ diligence expected from me, only to cause them to be carefully made up in strong cases & soe imbarked & putt into sure hands, & consigned to some person responsable, according directions in your former; that for Holland yo^r^ Hon^r^ understand not y^e^ said pictures have any relation to those parts, but if they have, that I shall doe well to write unto S^r^ William Boswell, to use the like care & not to sticke for any Customes or dutyes payable for them.

All w^ch^ compared obliged me to write once more, requisite I be furnished w^th^ money to cleere all such charges, since S^r^ Peter Rubens saith not obliged thereunto; having don the first of his part, the second to passe into England will alsoe doe, if his health permitt, & assist to y^e^ well placing of his said pictures & to retouch them, if soe then found necessary: The pictures must be sent into Zealand, cause by land impossible by reason of their bulke, if any dutyes to be paid there it must be S^r^ William Boswell's care to follow yo^r^ hon^rs^ directions, as I shall punctually observe them in quality of

Your Hon^rs^
most humble obedient Servant
B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CLXXXI. B. GERBIER TO SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS.

Brussels, September $\frac{3}{13}$, 1635.

Sir:

I have received a letter from the Chevalier Windebank, his Majesty's Secretary of State, in which I am again commanded to use despatch in sending off the pictures which you have painted for the Great Hall. You have not yet informed me whether the said pictures are in a fit state to be sent away. Your last letters say, that there was still much work to be done in retouching and mending the cracks, which had been caused through their having been rolled up almost a whole year; and further say you wished to finish them in such a manner that it would not be necessary to retouch them in England, where you said you purposed going (your health permitting) to have them placed, agree-

able to His Majesty's pleasure: that you had written to the Marquis d'Aytona to obtain leave for your said journey, but had not then received an answer on that point, that you would inform me when the pictures were ready, so that I might go to Antwerp, and take the necessary steps to see them securely shipped in the charge of the most trusty agent, to have them safely landed in England. I have now further to inform you, that Mons. the Secretary signifies in his letter, that His Majesty will re-imburse the expenses of the free licence, in case the said pictures may be charged with any, and that he will, with pleasure, repay your bills.

This is, therefore, to beg of you to tell me when your said pictures will be in a fit state to be packed up, so that I may do justice to the orders which have been given to me, and do justice to myself also; that I may sleep in repose without worrying too much, if heavy gales should blow, although their utmost rage could never reach me; nor even those who bring forward this proverb, saying, These are the worst things that I can say, although the best for myself; wishing, like the Emperor who desired to live in a house of glass, that all the world could read my heart. I divert you too long from your attractive occupations, so will conclude, and remain,

Sir, your very humble Servant,

B. Gerbier.

CLXXXII. B. GERBIER TO LIONEL WAKE. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, September $\frac{3}{13}$, 1635.

S^{R}:

I send here inclosed a letter of S^{r} Francis Windebanck, one of his Maj^{ts} Sec. of State; it's about pictures of S^{r} Peter Reubens w^{ch} must be sent into England.

S^{r} Peter Rubens wrote to me in his last letter, the pictures not yet finisht & to require some time, cause intends to put the said pictures in termes as shall not neede to be retouched when sett in their place in the Banquetting house, that he would advertise me when time to take order for the said pictures safe convayance into Zealand, and, for their better seurty, procure all what can be expected from my confrater S^{r} William Boswell.

Thus I have expected when S^{r} Peter Reubens should advertise me to repaire to Antwerp to speake wth him, wth you cause you are

best acquainted w^th^ transportation of goods & doe all what necessary, according my orders received concerning that particular. I pray repaire to S^r^ Peter Reubens, cast an eye on the pictures & after well informed in what state they are, & when ready to be put up in cases, make thereof an exact relation unto S^r^ Francis Windebanck by this Ordinary, for I shall not time enough receive S^r^ Peter Reubens answeare to notice the same in my letters of this weeke, since they goe tomorrow night.

Pray chide S^r^ Peter Reubens for leasines to write, for I conceive, if gout lettes him paint, he may doe more & lett me know in good time what quantity the pictures casses wilbe that I may write unto S^r^ Wil. Boswell for a safe passe, if soe necessary, w^ch^ I conceive may be to hinder the breaking up of the case in the Vlote att Lillo or elsewhere.

* * * * *

Accuse (I pray) the receipt of the inclosed, speake w^th^ S^r^ Peter Rubens as said here above & notice alsoe the same into England.

* * * * *

I rest Yo^rs^

B. Gerbeir.

CLXXXIII. B. GERBIER TO KING CHARLES I.

Brussels, September $\frac{4}{14}$, 1635.

May itt please y^R^ Maj^TY^ :

It's now two monthes past I received order to take care for y^e^ sending of S^r^ Peter Reubens pictures for y^r^ Maj^tys^ Banqueting house, and to procure the free licents ; I did, att y^t^ time, notice my said orders unto S^r^ Peter Rubens, expecting of him answeare when fitt for me to repaire to Antwerp ; he replied, resolved to overpaint most of the said peeces att his owne house, cause necessary at thand, and fearing, when past the seas, to be taken by the goutt, of w^ch^ often visited, wrote to me since to have bin most a whole month a bed of the said desease, & itt y^e^ cause his pictures not *fully finisht*,[258] written, also, since to have sent to late Marquis d'Aytona, for leave to passe into England, but to have receaved noe answeare. I had, in the interim, time to consult M^r^ Sec. Windebanck whether free licents for the said pictures should be demanded in Y^r^ Maj^ys^ name or not, cause I conceaved tied to the same duty of all servants, not to ingage their Master's name nor

[258] The words *more advanced* have been struck out, and *fully finisht* substituted.

purse w^th^out expresse order; if that care subject to other interpretation, I beseech Y^r^ Maj^ty^, according his accoustumed Royall bounty, to reflect on the meaning, for nothing in this world shalbe able to make me slow in my duty, be the charge never soe great, lesse in soe small a matter of sending pictures to a barke, w^ch^ I did intend to accompagnie w^th^ a servant of mine, till the pictures delivered att Whitehall, therefore needed noe second for the said comission, lesse the matter wholly remitted to an other; but Y^r^ Maj^ts^ pleasure shall ever be my wille. I have written againe unto S^r^ Peter Rubens to hasten away the said pictures, 'ere hard weather makes foule seas, & shall, as soone S^r^ Peter Rubens saith to be ready, see the pictures in their cases & if need, as said, send a man expresse w^th^ them over Zealand, recommend them to a person, who shall putt them in an English barke for London & take care the customers of Zeland breake not bulke.

I mention, in Mr. Secret^y^ Cokes letter, the late Infantes mouveables & Jewells are now agayne putt to publike saile; thought fitt to touch in this, that 120 pearles of 200 Crownes apeece are to be sould, the fairest of water & the perfectest, as I conceive, in the world; the other halfe of a chayne King Phillip gave to his daughter, Duchesse of Savoye; & should the late Infante have had them, if att that time bargained, she said the Marchant stood upon ten sty^rs^ more for each. If Y^r^ Maj. were minded to have them, they are to be sould. It's what thought fitt to sett downe by

Y^r^ Maj. &c.,
B. Gerbier.

The Pearles waigh 16 graynes apeece, they are 120, to be sould at the last word for five thousand pounds starlings.

CLXXXIV. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK.

Brussels, September $\frac{4}{14}$, 1635.

Right Honnorable:

I have recieved your's of 28 Aug. last, therein an enclosed for Mr. Lyonell Wake, w^ch^ I have sent unto him; also desired he should repaire to S^r^ Peter Rubens, and know when the pictures for his Maj^s^ Banqueting House ready to be putt up in cases for their transportation. To mention in his letter, by this Ordinary,

unto y^r Hon^r, what S^r Peter Reubens saith concerning the same, whereby it shall appeare I knowe not yett what it is to be wanting in my duty.

Your Hon^r commanded me to take order for the safe & speedy transportation of the said pictures, w^ch to doe I needed noe second, but S^r Peter Reubens, on whom lyeth the fault they are not before this time sett up in their dessigned place, where (as he said) was att first resolved to retouch and overpaint them, but hath since changed mind to finish them here att his owne ease, fearing not to be soe well fitted of all necessaires in England, or his wonted infirmity the gout. Writt also to me, he could gett noe answeare of his dispatch to the late Marquis d'Aytona, concerning leave to passe into England. Desired I should expect to heare of him, when time for me to repaire to Antwerpe to send the pictures floting towards Zealand, and settle a good course for the other halfe of theire journey; soe as I have not omitted a minute of time, lesse any thing of what commanded.

Iff I had time enough to consult Yo^r Hon^or whether the free licent should be demanded in his Maj^s name, (yo^r honno^rs first orders to procure the said free licent my ground worke) I humbly beseech my zeale may not turne to my disadvantage, since it's a common rule to servants sent abroad by great Princes, not to ingage their Maisters name nor purse, w^thout expresse order.

Considered how little great Princes may esteeme a round somme, I did not trouble myselfe about the variety of the order or circumstances, neither was, nor is it possible for me to be putt att a stand in my duty, w^ch I beseech yo^r hon^r soe to conceave of me.

Y^r honnors most humble and most obedient Servant

B. Gerbier.

CLXXXV. LIONEL WAKE TO SIR F. WINDEBANK.[259]

Antwerp, September $\frac{5}{15}$, 1635.

Right Honorable:

According to the comandment w^ch y^r honnor was pleased to give me by your Le'e of the 28 August, I went presently to speake w^th S^r Peter Rubens about the pictures, w^ch he is to make for his Mag^tie, who tells me that they are all finished, onely one peece

[259] Nos. clxxxv. clxxxviii., and cxciv. to cc., have been printed by Mr. Carpenter in the Appendix to his Life of Van Dyck, pp. 170—175.

w^ch^ will not be through dry in 8 or 10 dayes: so soene as they are ready I will desyre him to be present himselfe, to looke to the packing of them, that they may receave no hurt, and then, when they are delivered to me, I will not be wanting to do my dewty to send them safely to Duynkerk, w^ch^ I conceave is the surest and speediest waye, whereof I will render unto y^e^ honnor a perticuler accompt what mony shalbe disburssed for the charges thereof: And so I humbly take my leave, ever resting,

Y^r^ honnors most humble servant

LYONELL WAKE.

CLXXXVI. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, September $\frac{18}{28}$, 1635.

RIGHT HON^BLE^:

* * * * *

My Secretary retourned last night from Antwerp, where I had sent him to looke out a house for a retreate, case this infection increase here, hath spoken w^th^ S^r^ Peter Reubens, who saith five of his pictures, for his Maj^ts^ Banqueting house, wilbe ready to be sent from Antwerp, towards Duncquerq, tomorrow sennight [26th Sept.]. May they passe free from French and Holland^rs^.

* * * * *

Your Honours, &c.

B. GERBIER.

CLXXXVII. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, October $\frac{2}{12}$, 1635.

RIGHT HONNORABLE:

* * * * *

Part of S^r^ Peter Reubens pictures, for the Banqueting house, have theise five dayes bin on their way for Duncquerq. May the man soone recover, w^ch^ S^r^ Peter Reubens saith should make w^th^ them over the seas, & for whom I have sent a Passe.

* * * * *

Yo^r^ Honnors, &c.

B. GERBIER.

CLXXXVIII. LIONEL WAKE TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK.

Antwerp, October $\frac{3}{13}$, 1635.

RIGHT HONORABLE:

UPPON Saterday last, [28th September] in the afternoen, S^r^ Peter Rubens delivered unto me the case[260] of Picturs for his Mag^ty^; the w^ch^ I have sent to Duynkerk, by wagen, and I doubt not but, by this tyme, it is there arived, and will be sent from thence by the first shipp that goeth to London: and I gave order that it should be sent unto Mr. Will^m^ Cokayn, marchant, to the end that he maye give y^r^ honnor notice of the arivall of it; that then you maye send for it, and present it to his Mag^ty^. I caused it to be packt, in the presence of Monsieur Rubbens, in the best manner we could; so I doubt not but it will com well conditioned. Monsieur Rubbens intended to have sent one of porpose alonge w^th^ the Case, and I gave him a lere to our factor at Duynkerk, to assist him in taking his passage to goe allong w^th^ the Case, but he sent me worde that the party was fallen syck, and so made some doubt whether he could goe or not. When I have the note of the charges, w^ch^ is payde out at Duynkerk, I will send y^r^ honnor the particulers of what I have layde out in all: and so I humbly take my leave, ever resting

Y^r^ honnors most humble Servant
LYONNELL WAKE.

CLXXXIX. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, October $\frac{9}{19}$, 1635.

RIGHT HON^BLE^:

* * * * *

S^r^ Peter Rubens man (who should have past the Seas to sett up the pictures) is become soe desperate sicke, as unable to performe the journey; another is made choise of, for whom I have also sent a Passe.

* * * * *

Y^r^ Hon^rs^ &c.
B. GERBIER.

[260] In a letter to Sec. Windebank, of $\frac{16}{26}$ Dec. 1635, [see p. 201] Wake says he received 2 Cases of Pictures of Rubens.

CXC. SIR W. BOSWELL TO SEC. SIR J. COKE. (*Extract.*)

Hague, October $\frac{16}{26}$, 1635.

RIGHT HONORABLE:

* * * * *

Sir Pa. Rubens (I am certified) hath a Passe, from the Pr^ce^ of Aur^ge^, to goe thorough these Prov^ces^ into Engl^d^, though not believed he will goe so farre out of his way, as Hollande seems to be.[261]

* * * * *

Yo^r^ Hon^rs^
most faithfull affect^t^ and humble servant,
WILL. BOSWELL.

CXCI. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, October $\frac{16}{26}$, 1635.

RIGHT HONNORABLE:

* * * * *

I send, here inclosed, a letter of the printer Balthasar Moretus, whoe complaines of those your hon^r^ recomended, whoe, for his Maj^ts^ service, were to make a colection of faire Matrices of caracters.

I made a journey to Antwerpe for that purpose, and, might have bin in vayne, iff S^r^ Peter Rubens credit had not mooved Moretus to condecend unto what required. Itt wilbe noe credit to suffer Moretus to complayne, or remayne w^th^ losse; w^ch^ I beseech y^r^ hon^r^ to take in consideration.

* * * * *

Yo^r^ honno^rs^ &c.
B. GERBIER.

CXCII. LIONEL WAKE TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK. (*Extract.*)

Antwerp, December $\frac{16}{26}$, 1635.

RIGHT HONORABLE:

HAVING understoode that the 2 cases of pictures, w^ch^ I receaved by your honors appoyntment of S^r^ Peter Paulo Rubbens, are well

[261] This report was most probably caused through Rubens having written to the Marquis d'Aytona for leave to pass into England, to superintend the placing of his pictures at Whitehall. (See Gerbier's letter of $\frac{3}{13}$ Sept. 1635, ante p. 195.)

arived at London, and delivered according to y^r^ honnors direction. The sayde Cases beeing for his Magestys use, I ame boulde hereby to lett you know, that I have disbursed, in charges thereof, the some of thirteene pounds sterling, the w^ch^ it maye please y^r^ honnor to cause to be payd to Mr. Willim̃ Cokayn.

* * * * *

Y^r^ honnors most humble Servant,
LYONELL WAKE.

[262] [*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A., No. XXVI.]

CXCIII. POWER OF ATTORNEY GIVEN BY SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO LIONEL WAKE, JUN^R^., AUTHORISING HIM TO RECEIVE THE MONEY DUE TO RUBENS FOR THE PICTURES HE HAD PAINTED BY COMMAND OF KING CHARLES I. FOR THE CEILING OF WHITEHALL.

Antwerp, Nov. $\frac{3}{13}$, 1637.

BE it known to all those who shall see this instrument, or hear it read, that the thirteenth day of the month of November, in the year of grace One thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, before me, Toussein Guyot, notary and tabellion public [a scrivener or public scribe], by the councils of his Catholic Majesty (both) Privy and of Brabant, admitted and approved, resident in Antwerp, and the witnesses under-written, appeared in person, the Sieur Pietro Paulo Rubens, knight, Seigneur de Steene, and Secretary of the Privy Council of his said Majesty, residing in the said city of Antwerp, known to me the notary; and both of his frank and free will made, created, constituted, and commissioned by this, his attorney, general and special, to wit, Lionel Wake the younger, residing at London, in England; giving to him full power, authority, and absolute command, for, in the name, and on the part of the said Sieur, the constituent, to ask, recover, and receive the three thousand pounds sterling, which his Royal Majesty of England has been required to order by his privy seal, at his exchequer or treasury, to pay, or satisfy to the said constituent, in recompense of the paintings, made by his hand, for the soffet or ceiling of the Royal Hall of Whitehall. On its receipt, to give,

[262] This translation is copied from the one printed in the Appendix to Carpenter's "Life of Van Dyck," p. 171—3.

pass, and avow such acknowledgments, or acts, as may be necessary, and generally and specially, in the things above stated, and those dependent upon them to do, say, procure, and take charge of, as the said Sieur, the constituent, could himself do and say, if he were there present in person. Promising, in good faith, to have and to hold as good, firm, and agreeable always, all, that by his said constituted attorney shall be done, said, procured, or had charge of, without ever going or coming to the contrary in any manner, under the obligation of his person and goods; Which was thus done and passed at Antwerp, at the counter of me, the notary, adjoining the Exchange of the Merchants, in presence of Melchior van Schoonhove and Jehan van Gheele, as witnesses hereunto required; and the said Sieur, the constituent, signed, with his name, the note hereof, in the register of the notary.

Which I attest, with my accustomed sign manual.

T. Guyot, Not^{y} Pub.

We, the undersigned, certify that Toussein Guyot, having subscribed the preceding instrument is a notary and tabellion public, residing in the city of Antwerp, and that to the acts and instruments by him thus signed, has always been and is given entire faith and credit, in law and out of it.

Done as before.

Peter de Breuseghan, Notary.

A. Van Couwenbergh, Notary.

CXCIV.

Rec^{n} y^{e} 18th November, A° 1637, of Endymion Porter, Esq., y^{e} sõme of eight hundred pounds starling, for soe muche rec^{d} by him of his Ma^{tie} this present daie, for y^{e} accompt of S^{r} Paule Rubens, knight, in parte of paim^{t} of £3000 due to him by his Ma^{tie} for picturs; y^{e} w^{ch} money y^{e} said S^{r} Paule Rubens hath authorised me to receave, by a letter of attorney under his hand and seale, dated in Antwerp y^{e} $\frac{13}{23}$ November, Anno 1637, as by y^{e} said letter appeareth. I saie rec^{d}

Lyonell Wake, Junior.

Wittnes

P^{r} Stephen le Youche.

Richard Harvey.

CXCV.

Mr Harvy: You maye be pleased to paye, unto the Bearer heereof, £700 for S^r^ Piter Paulo Rubens, and I doe send you heerew^th^ the Carta de poder, of w^ch^ you maye be pleased to take a Copy, and when you please to apoynt me a tyme, I shall give a receit for £1500. So remaine

Y^rs^ at Comand,

Lyonell Wake, Junior.

From my Lodgeing,
21 Xbre, 1637.

CXCVI.

Receaved, of Mr. Endimion Porter, the some of seaven hundreth pounds sterl: by the hands of his servant Richard Harvey, for the Acc^t^ of S^r^ Piter and Paulo Rubens, by vertu of a leŕe of atturney from him, dated the $\frac{13}{23}$ of November 1637, in Antwerp. I saye receaved £700.

Lyonell Wake, Junior.

London, 22 X^bre^, 1637.
Teste, Richard Harvey.

CXCVII.

Receaved, of Mr. Endimion Porter, and that for S^r^ Pietro Paulo Rubbens, knight, the sŏme of aleaven hundred three skrore and ten pounds, by vertu of a leŕe of Atorney sent me by ditto Rubbens concerneing a Privy seale of £1500.

Lyonell Wake.

London, 14 Maye, 1638.

CXCVIII. ENDYMION PORTER TO RICHARD HARVEY. (*Extract.*)

Greenwich, May 29, 1638.

Richard Harvie: I would have you presently goe to Mr. Raylton and receave the remainder of S^r^ Peeter Rubens, his monnies; they are nowe reddie, and lett Mr. Wake have them, to make over to Antwerpe for him.

* * * * *

Your true friend,

Endymion Porter.

CXCIX.

Recd y^e^ 4^th^ of June A° 1638, of y^e^ ho^ble^ Endymion Porter Esq., y^e^ sõme of three hundred & thirty pounds starling, in full paim^t^ & discharge of three thousand pounds, due by his Ma^tie^ unto S^r^ Peter Paule Rubens, knight, for pictures w^ch^ his said Ma^tie^ bought of him, long since; of y^e^ w^ch^ sõme of M.M.M.^li^ & of every parte & parsell thereof, I doe heereby acknowledge satisfacõn, & I doe heereby cleerely acquite his said Ma^tie^ & y^e^ said Mr. Porter of y^e^ same, by virtue of a letter of Attorney from y^e^ said Rubens. In wittnes whereof I have heere unto set my hand, y^e^ daie & yeare abovesaid, I saie rẽcd

Lyonell Wake, Junior.

Wittnes hereunto
P^r^ Stephen le Youche.
Richard Harvey.

CC.

Receavd the 24 March 1638 [1638-9] of his Mag^tie^, by the hands of Endimion Porter, esquier, one cheane of gould, waying fower skore and tow oz 2^d^wayt, for the use of S^r^ Peeter Paulo Rubens; the w^ch^ his Mag^tie^ doth bestow uppon him; and I ame to convay itt unto him w^th^ all convenient speede. In Witnes heereof I have heere unto set my hand

Lyonell Wake.

This chaine was deliverd at y^e^ office of y^e^ Juellhouse to weigh 82½ ounces.

In 1636, George Geldorp, a Flemish painter settled in London, wrote to Rubens, asking him to paint an altar-piece. Rubens begged that he would give him some explanations: he was astonished that such a commission should be sent to him from a Protestant kingdom. Geldorp answered that the work was intended for the famous Jabach, a celebrated amateur of Cologne, who wished to present a picture to the Church of the Saint Apostles. On which Rubens wrote to him as follows:—

Antwerp, July $\frac{15}{25}$, 1637.[263]

Sir:

Your honored letter, of the last day of June, has come to hand. It dispels all my doubts, for I could not imagine why an Altar Piece was wanted in London. As regards time; I must have a year and a half, in order to be able to serve your friend, without uneasiness, or inconvenience. As regards the subject; it will suit me better to choose it according to the size of the picture, for there are subjects which are better treated in a large space, and others which require a medium, or smaller proportions.[264] Nevertheless, if I might choose, or wish for a subject to my taste, relative to St. Peter, I would take his crucifixion, with his feet placed above. It appears to me that, that would enable me to do something extraordinary. Otherwise, I leave the choice to him who will be at the expense of it, and until we have seen what the size of the picture will be. I have a great affection for the City of Cologne, where I was brought up until I was ten years of age,[265] and many times, for many years past, I have had a wish to revisit it. Nevertheless, I fear the difficulties of our times, and my occupations, will still be obstacles to my gratifying this wish and many others. I solicit then, with all my heart, your good favours, &c.

Peter Paul Rubens.

In March, 1638, Geldorp begged one of his friends, the Sieur Lemens, to let him know, in what state of forwardness the picture was, Rubens satisfied his curiosity himself.

Sir:

Antwerp, $\frac{March\ 23}{April\ 2}$, 1638.

Having learnt from M. Lemens, that you would like to know what state the work is in, which I undertook, by your order, for

[263] These two letters from Rubens, which I have translated into English, are printed in Flemish, and translated into French in "*Lettres inédites de Rubens*, par Emile Gachet," pp. 276—280. The original of the first letter, was sold at Antwerp in 1840, for 290 francs [about 11*l.* 12*s.* sterling], at M. Steenecruy's sale. An English amateur, M. Mitchell, bought it. The city of Antwerp does not possess an autograph of Rubens, and they let this opportunity escape of having one. (E. Gachet, p. 278.)

[264] See Rubens letter to Trumbull of 3 Sept. 1621, ante p. 61.

[265] It is impossible to translate the phrase, *Ick aldaer ben opgevoedt tot het thienste jaer myns levens*, otherwise than by these words, "*J'ai été élevé à Cologne jusqu'à l'âge de dix ans.*" If this style of speaking does not rigorously imply the birth, it renders it at least more than probable. (Em. Gachet, p. 278.) But it will be seen (ante p. 1, note 1) that Alfred Michiels proves, beyond controversy, that Rubens was not born at Cologne, but at Siegen; and the Royal Academy, in their Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery, follow Michiels.

one of your friends of Cologne, I hasten to let you know that it is already advanced, and I am even in hopes that it will be one of the best works which has gone out of my hands. You may write so, boldly to your friend. Nevertheless, I should not like to be pressed to finish it; I even beg that may be left to my humour and convenience, so that I may finish it at my ease; so much more charm do I find, in the subject of this picture,[266] than in all those upon which I am engaged, although I am overwhelmed with work. I have not written to your friend of Cologne, because I have not any acquaintance in that city, and it appears to me that it would be better for you to do so. I solicit then, with all my heart, your good favours, &c.

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CCI. B. GERBIER TO MONS. WECKERLIN.[267] (*Extract.*)

Brussels, July $\frac{3}{12}$, 1636.

SIR:

* * * * *

The Sieur Rubens, my old friend, told me, in express terms, that little Taylor of Vienna, when he came here, was sent to tell the Infanta that his Majesty accepted her good offices touching the Palatinate, and particularly concerning Franckendal; an answer founded upon the endeavours which I had made, that he first went to Antwerp, before coming here, and offered to the Sieur Rubens a pension, if he would resolve to come and remain at Brussels, to assist him to act for England; on which the Sieur Rubens answered formally that he was astonished at the proposition, seeing his Majesty had the Sieur Gerbier here, a person, said he, so capable and diligent, (many thanks say I for so much good,) to which the Sieur Taylor formally replied, that great Princes employed only those whom they could turn to account. The Sieur Rubens excused himself, and seemed as though he doubted whether the Sieur Taylor was well authorised. The

[266] This picture, "The Martyrdom of St. Peter," remained in the Artist's possession until his decease in May, 1640, when it was valued at 1200 florins (108*l.*), and purchased by a gentleman, of the name of Jabach, who is said to have presented it to the Church of St. Peter at Cologne. An inscription on the altar states that the altar was erected and endowed by Mr. Jabach. (Smith, No. 377, p. 111).

[267] The greater part of Sec. Lord Dorchester's Despatches to the King's Ambassadors abroad, are in the handwriting of G. R. Weckerlin, who was most probably his Lordship's Secretary.

Sieur Taylor answered, if the Sieur Rubens would resolve to come and live at Brussels, he would make his proposition good, and would even show him his instruction; having told me, not a month ago, that Taylor had assured him, when he last went to Vienna, that Gerbier would soon be removed, which, the Sieur Rubens, not being willing to believe, he assured him of it, and bid him remember he had told him so. The Sieur Rubens, however, thought no more about it, and has since assured me that of all prayers, the one I should meet with the most difficulty in obtaining, would be that of my recall from a place where he believed I have the reputation of having served his Majesty well, which I neither say boastingly, nor ungratefully of my labours.

* * * * *

Sir, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

CCII. B. GERBIER TO THE EARL MARSHAL.[268] (*Extracts.*)

Brussels, $\frac{\text{Oct. } 29}{\text{Nov. } 8}$, 1636.

My singular good Lord:

I have received this weeke y^r^ Excel^cs^ letter of 15th October, w^th^ an enclosed for S^r^ Peter Reubens, and another for Mr. Lyonel Wake, English Marchant att Antwerp. In yo^r^ Excel^cs^ letter, commands about certaine drawings of the said S^r^ P. Reubens for carving of cups; to procure them to be sent to the Haghe ag^t^ y^r^ Excell^cs^ retourne thether, w^ch^, I pray God, may be w^th^ entire satisfaction: I have sent the letters to their addresse & written unto S^r^ P. Rubens as y^r^ Excell^cy^ directs, have as yett noe answeare.

I have alsoe received y^r^ Excel^s^ of the $\frac{12}{22}$. In it's postscript, order to write unto S^r^ P. Rubens touching drawings of Michael Angelos roofe, w^ch^ I intend to doe this day.

* * * * *

B. Gerbier.

CCIII. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK.

Brussels, Jan. $\frac{20}{30}$, 1637-8.

Right honnorable:

* * * * *

The Virginall[269] I do pitch upon is an excellent peece, made by

[268] Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, see Appendix B.

[269] An instrument of the Spinnet kind, but made quite rectangular, like a small

Johannes Rickarts att Antwerp. Its a dobbel staert stick as called, hath foure registers, the place to play on att the inde. The Virginal was made for the latte Infante, hath a faire picture on the inne side of the Covering, representing the Infantas parke, and on the opening, att the part were played, a picture of Rubens, representing Cupid and Psiche,[270] the partie asks £30 starling. Those Virginals w^ch^ have noe pictures cost £15 :—Y^r^ hon^r^ will have time enuf to consider on the sum, cause I can keepe the Virginal long enuf att my house.

I take my leave & rest

Yo^r^ hon^rs^, &c.,
B. Gerbier.

CCIV. SIR F. WINDEBANK TO B. GERBIER.

Sir: *Westminster, February* 2, 1637-8.

In a lr̃e a part yo^u^ are pleased to give me a testimony of yo^r^ care of my privat little businesse concerning the Virginall, for w^ch^ I retourne y^u^ my most affectionat thankes.

If the Instrument, for sounde & goodnesse, be right, I do not much respect the accessories of ornament or paintings, & therfore if y^u^ can meete w^th^ a very good one plaine & w^thout these curiosities, I shold rather make choice of such a one. But I will advise w^th^ y^r^ good frende & myne Mr. Norgat, whose skill in these businesses is excellent, & then I will take the liberty to acquaint y^u^ w^th^ my further desires. Presenting my true love to yo^u^ & making it my suite to y^u^ to use me as freely, as by yo^r^ many civilities you have obliged me to be (S^r^)

Y^r^ most faithful true servant
Fran. Windebank.

On the 2nd of March Sec. Sir F. Windebank writes to B.

pianoforte. I remember two in use belonging to the master of the King's choristers. Their name was probably derived from being used by young girls. Sir John Hawkins (see Hist. of Music, vol. ii p. 442) speaks of them as spinets, though under another name; but Nares describes the construction as being very different. (Nares' Glossary to English Authors.)

[270] Smith's Catalogue Raisonné describes only one picture of Cupid and Psyche, No. 1107. "The nymph is represented naked, with a lamp in her hand, looking with fatal curiosity at her lover, who lies asleep on a couch, engraved anonymous." See also the last Article but three [p. 245] in the "Inventory" of Rubens' effects, "Psyche sleepinge with Cupid uppon a bed of Ivorye."

Gerbier to send the Virginall mentioned in his former letter, if as good for use and music as he represented it to be for show, and he will give satisfaction for it whensoever he shall appoint.

CCV. SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK TO B. GERBIER. (*Extract.*)

S^R^: *Westminster, July* 20, 1638.

* * * * *

The Virginall, w^ch^ yo^u^ sent me, is com safe, and I wish it were as usefull as I know yo^u^ intended it. But the workman, that made it, was much mistaken in it, and it wantes 6 or 7 Keyes, so that it is utterly unserviceable. If either he could alter it, or wolde change it for another that may have more Keyes, it were well: but as it is, our musick is marr'd. Neverthelesse, I am exceedinglye beholding to y^u^ for it and do acknowledge as many thankes to be due to y^u^, as if it had bene the most exquisit peece in the worlde. In that quality I beseeche yo^u^ (S^r^) comaunde

Yo^r^ most faithfull and obliged
true frende to serve yo^u^,
FRAN. WINDEBANK.

CCVI. B. GERBIER TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, $\frac{July\ 28}{Aug.\ 7}$, 1638.

RIGHT HONNORABLE:

* * * * *

I have y^r^ honors letter to me of $\frac{2\,0}{3\,0}$ July, to which I have no more to say but that I must take patience, the Virginall proves not according expectation; Iff y^r^ honor causeth the same sent to me agayne well conditioned and a just measure of the keyes desired annother Virginall to be; I will cause this to be sould as itt can, and annother made forthw^th^ by Mr. Rickaerts, the same and the best master here, who saith this Virginall cannot be altered, and none elce made here on saille.

Humbly take my leave and rest yo^r^ hon^rs^, &c.,
B. GERBIER.

On 3 August, 1638, Sec. Windebank writes to Gerbier from Haines Hill. "For the Virginall I desire yo^u^ not to trouble y^r^self, seeing the fault was myne that did not give better instruction."

The following Correspondence, concerning Paintings for the decoration of Queen Henrietta Maria's Cabinet, at Greenwich, relates more particularly to Jordaens; but the name of Rubens so often occurs in the course of it, and Gerbier so strongly recommends that the task should be assigned to Rubens, in preference to Jordaens, that the Correspondence seems naturally to connect itself, almost, as much with the one of those artists as with the other.

CCVII. SIR BALTHAZAR GERBIER[271] TO WILLIAM MURRAY.[272]

Brussels, $\frac{\textit{Nov. } 21}{\textit{Dec. } 1}$, 1639.

Sir:

This bearer, my friend Mr. Norgate, will give y^{u} an account of my proceeding, touching the contents of your letter of 17th Oct. unto me, & the instructions he had in writing. I shall expect y^{r} answeare, in such particulars as he will show you, alsoe in a paper he carieth; as soone he gets orders setled on the same, and acquaints me therewth I shall proceede on th^{t} busines, and be glad to be honoured often wth y^{r} commands, y^{t}, by acceptable service, I may make good what I am, &c.

B. Gerbier.

CCVIII.

Nov. $\frac{11}{21}$, 1639.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR EDWARD NORGATE, ESQ.,[273] TOUCHING THE PICTURES TO BE MADE BY JORDANS, ACCORDING THE DIRECTIONS SENT BY MR. MURREY, OF HIS MAJ^{TS} BEDCHAMBER.

Imprimis: to represent unto Mr. Murrey, that as soone S^{r}

[271] Sir Balthazar Gerbier left Brussels for England on the $\frac{\text{30 August}}{\text{9 September}}$, 1638, and was knighted by King Charles I. at Hampton Court, on the 2nd October following. His first letter on his return to Brussels is dated October 17, 1638. See Appendix F.

[272] There is a Docquet in the State Paper Office, dated May 25, 1625, granting "a pension of 500*l.* p^{r} ann. to William Murray, one of the Groomes of his Ma^{ts} Bedchamber during his life, payable out of the Exchequer, the first payment to begin at midsomer next." On October 13, the King, by letter, commanded the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, "to admit Wil. Murray a Coal Meter of London." Again on December 19, 1625, was granted to "W^{m} Murray, one of the Bedchamber, and Katherine his wife, and the survivor, a pension of 400*l.* p^{r} ann:" also "Warrant to pay to W^{m} Murray 200*l.*: as of his Ma^{ties} free gift." He continued in the above capacity to serve King Charles I., by whom he was also employed in several special and important missions, and remained faithful to his Sovereign through all his troubles.

[273] Edward Norgate, was the son of Dr. Robert Norgate, Master of Bennet College,

Balthasar Gerbier had received his lre of direction, w^th^ the papers bearing measure for pictures to be bespoken of Jordans, the said S^r^ B. Gerbier caused copies to be made of the said measures, and y^e^ directions written thereon, in French; that Jordans should not discover for whom y^e^ Pictures are to be.

2. That S^r^ Balt. Gerbier used the Abbate d'Escaglia to make the bargaine w^th^ Jordans.

3. That the said Abbate, living att Antwerp, & having good skill in handling such mercenary men, was, by S^r^ B. Gerbier, thought the fittest hand to guide the said busines.

4. That he hath accepted the same very willingly and cheerefully, w^th^out that S^r^ Balthasar hath written unto him, for whom the pictures are to be.

5. That the said Abbate de Scaglia hath (after Jordans had taken some dayes to consider the taske he is to undertake) written unto S^r^ Balt. Gerbier, that Jordans demands £680 sterl^g^ Engl. money for the whole worke.

6. That he will not, as yett, promise to performe the said worke in lesse then two yeares.

7. That he wilbe paid for the designe of the worke if makes one, as S^r^ B. Gerbier thinkes most fitting he should, that Mr. Murrey may shew unto his Maj^ty^ what Jordans intends to doe, and soe his Maj^ty^ be satisfied, as much as possible, touching the same.

8. That Jordans will dispatch the worke by peeces, and that those shalbe sent, two or three togeather, as he shall have finisht

Cambridge, where Edward was born. At a very early age he gave evidence of considerable talents for minute drawing, and illuminating MSS. He connected himself with the Eminent Painters patronised by Charles I., and soon obtained the patronage of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, the father of vertu in England, who sent him into Italy to purchase pictures and statues, and appointed him Windsor Herald in 1633. He instructed Lord Arundel's sons in his elegant art. (Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting," p. 41, &c.) There is (among the Pell Records, printed by Devon, p. 324), a Warrant, dated June 20, 1616, to pay to Andrea Bassano and Edward Norgate, "unto whom We have committed the charge of our Organs 50*l.*" towards the reparations of the organ in the King's chapel at Greenwich; and, in the State Paper Office, an Order that all letters sent by the King to the Grand Signor, the King of Persia, the Emperor of Russia, the Great Mogul, and other remote Princes, heretofore written, &c., by Scriveners, be written, lymned, and garnished, with gold and color, by Mr. Edward Norgate, His Ma^tis^ Servant & Clerk of the Signet in reversion. It appears by a Docquet dated March 13, 1630-1, that "Edward Norgate, Esq." was "one of the Clerks of H. M. Signett extraordinary." He was probably connected by marriage with Gerbier, who calls him "Brother Norgate." There is a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, entitled "Miniature, or the Art of Limning, by Edward Norgate, dedicated to Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel, and dated July 8, 1654." Fuller is therefore in error when he says Norgate died on December 23, 1650.

them, It being the custome of these Painters to worke by fits, and most part on two or three peeces att one time, according their colours serves them.

9. That Mr. Murrey wilbe pleased to represent the same unto his Maj^{ty}.

10. To take a course for the paym^{t} of the worke; for as it's required by parts, soe must the payment be punctuall.

11. In case his Maj^{ty} remaynes satisfied wth the bargaine, and wth Jordans manner of painting, that then, Mr. Murrey having setled a course for the payment, he wilbe pleased to cause somebody to take an exact measure of the severall peeces wth pack thread, the length & the breadth, and cause a litle peece of parchm^{t} to be fastened to the end, whereon the peece specified whereof it beares the measure; since otherwayes Jordans may as soone faile to understand the English foote as S^{r} Peter Reubens did, w^{ch} he cannot, if the measures sent by lines in pack thread as aforesaid.

The course for payment of the money (w^{ch} monies are to be paid from time to time as the pictures are finished) might be (if soe thought fitt) to cause young Mr. Wake to give a letter of credence upon his father Mr. Lyonell Wake, att Antwerp, to y^{e} end of payment, on S^{r} Balt. Gerbier's orders, to the somme of £680 sterl^{g}.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CCIX. THE NOTE OF JORDAENS[274] THE PAINTER.

1. The Sofito, consisting of 9 pieces, some great and some little, the price will be . . . . florins 2400

[274] Jacques Jordaens. This celebrated artist, born at Antwerp in 1594, was a pupil of Adam van Noort, and the only one who could accommodate himself to the peculiarities of his master, most probably because he loved his daughter, whom he married very young, and which marriage prevented his ever carrying into effect a great desire he had to see Rome. He was indebted to Rubens, whose studio he entered upon quitting Van Noort, for the principal part of his knowledge in painting, and ultimately proved that he inherited a genius of no common order. Sandrart, and other authors, assert that Rubens was jealous of the colouring of Jordaens. Could he have been a little more correct in his composition, more elegant in his characters, and more elevated in his invention, he might have been ranked with the most eminent in his art. One of his grandest productions is in the House of the Wood at the Hague; it represents a triumphal entry of the Prince of Orange. There are several capital pictures by Jordaens in this country—the full-length portraits of the Prince and Princess of Orange on the same piece in Devonshire House; the *Boon-Koning*, or "Twelfth Night," in the late Duke of Devonshire's collection at

	florins
2. The first quarter of the Room, upon the chimney, 3 great pieces, will come to	1800
3. The second part, where there are two Balconies, there will 5 pieces, some great and some little, will come to about	1000
4. The third quarter, where there is a Balcony, 3 pieces, estimated at	700
5. The fourth quarter, where the door is, there will be 2 great pieces, which will come to	900
Amounts to florins	6800

which makes 680*l.* sterling.

CCX. SIR B. GERBIER TO EDWARD NORGATE.

Brussels, $\frac{Jan.\ 25}{Feb.\ 4}$, 1639-40.

Sir:

Y^R letter dated $\frac{17}{27}$ Jan. (wherein mark't his Maj^ts gratious commands touching the pictures to be made by Jordaens) I received first present, & writt 'ere yesternight unto my friend att Antwerp, to have a drawing made for one of the intended pictures; w^ch drawing I shall pay, and send when don. But since you doe write, for the second time, that Mr. Surveyer thinkes that the picture in Q. Mother's Oratory was don by a disciple of Rubens, I doe make the more difficulty to trust either on Jordans, or on the french on y^t point. I should be sorry of a misunderstanding, in y^t w^ch must please their M. M. and w^ch afterwards would cause unnecessary pratlings among these men, free in speech, w^ch to avoid (since it wilbe knowne att last the pictures to be for her Maj^ty) I would desire you to consult once againe his Maj^ts pleasure, whether S^r Peter Reubens, being disposed to make the worke for the price (or neere the same) Jordans hath offered, his Maj^ty would be contented to have it of the said Reubens hand; they are both Dutchmen & not to seeke to represent robustrous boistrous druncken headed imaginary Gods, and of the two most certaine

Chiswick. "The Holy Family," at the National Gallery, presented by the late Duke of Northumberland in 1838. Also in the University's Gallery, Oxford, "Moses striking the Rock," and "Our Saviour's first Appearance to his Disciples after his Resurrection." The Gallery at Dusseldorf has his famous picture of the "Merry-making." Another capital work by his hand is in the Chapel at Blenheim, a "Descent from the Cross." He died at Antwerp, October 18, 1678, aged 84.—*Descamps,* I. p. 229; *Smith's Cat. Rais.* II. pp. 358—9; *Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters,* ed. 1852.

Sir Peter Reubens is the gentilest in his representations; his Landskipps more rare, and all other circumstances more proper. This represent I pray, as soone you can, & remember me kindly unto Mr. Surveyer, soe I rest

Y^r &c.

B. Gerbier.

CCXI. SIR B. GERBIER TO E. NORGATE.

Brussels, Feb. $\frac{15}{25}$, 1639-40

Brother Norgate:

* * * * *

You have not taken notice to mee of a lr̃e I did write unto you 4^th^ present, wherein I did desire you should consult his Maj^tys^ pleasure, whether would like S^r^ Peter Rubens to make y^e^ pictures spoken of w^th^ Jordans, in casse would make them for y^e^ same price: I have y^e^ copie of y^e^ said lr̃e, and would know why you should not have receaved y^e^ same, as well as you have and accused y^e^ others; I doe shunne mistakes, and to bee subject to ill offices. Rubens is said to smell a ratt, and to expresse disgust; in my Letany I could say, of Painters deliver mee; so much also for y^t^.

* * * * *

So I rest &c.

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CCXII. SIR B. GERBIER TO SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS.

Brussels, March, $\frac{3}{13}$, 1639-40

Sir:

I have received letters from the Sieur Ed. Norgate, who says, having told his Majesty that he had seen, at your house, a Landscape representing the environs of Madrid in Spain, and as he says the Escurial[275] also appearing in the distance, the King my master wishes to have the said picture. For this reason I am obliged to write to you, to ascertain if you are pleased to part with it; That being the case, to ask if you will undertake to finish it and to fill the fore ground with passers by, and people

[275] See No. 132 in the "Inventory" of Rubens pictures, p. 239. Mr. Dawson Turner adds: "This is probably the picture now in the Earl of Radnor's Gallery."

in the costume of the country, and that his Majesty may have the said picture as soon as possible. This is what I have to say to you upon this subject, begging you only to answer this in the French language, so that it may be seen how I have acquitted myself of my duty, in this particular, remaining

Sir &c.

B. Gerbier.

CCXIII. SIR B. GERBIER TO E. NORGATE.

Brussels, March $\frac{7}{17}$, 1639-40.

Sir:

I send you, here inclosed, S^r^ Peeter Reubens his answeare unto my letter, w^ch^ I wrote unto him, on y^e^ signification of his Maj^ts^ pleasure, touching a Landskipp w^ch^ y^u^ have taken to be of S^r^ Peeter Reubens making, but proves other wayes, since his handwriting must be credited. I could have sent the same unto his Maj^ty^, as I have the draught of Jordans, but have forborne soe to doe, since you have desired this my answeare.

I doe once againe incist for y^rs^ on my former, touching his Maj^ts^ pleasure if S^r^ Peeter Reubens hand would not please better then that of Jordans, who hath not shewed wonders in the draught; but I referre myselfe on that particular unto better judgments. Soe I rest

Y^rs^ &c.

B. Gerbier.

[*Inclosure.*]

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A., No. XXVII.]

CCXIV. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR B. GERBIER.

Antwerp, March $\frac{5}{15}$, 1639-40.

Sir:

It is true that Mons. Norgate, being at my house, saw this piece of St. Laurens in Escurial, without expressing any astonishment at the circumstance, otherwise than very slightly, and it did not then appear to me necessary to undeceive him, as I might have displeased him. But, seeing myself pressed to speak the truth and not to deceive his Majesty of Great Britain, to whom I am under so many obligations, I confess that the said picture is not by my hand, but entirely painted by one of the most common

painters (called Verhulst) of this city, after my design, made upon the spot. So that it is not worthy to appear among the marvels of the cabinet of his Majesty, who can always dispose absolutely of all that I have in the world, together with my person, as his very humble servant. I intreat you to keep me in his good favour and in yours, and to honour me with your commands, on any occasion that I can be of service to you, being with all my heart,

Sir, Your very humble Servant,

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

CCXV. SIR B. GERBIER TO INIGO JONES.

Brussels, March $\frac{14}{24}$, 1639-40.

MR. SURVEYER INIGO JONES, ETC.,

SIR:

YOUR lre, dated 6th prest, I have receaved by ye ordy of this weeke; seene, in ye said lre, his Majts pleasure yt ye painter Jordans must bee remembred to make, in ye first peece of painting (intended for her Majty,) ye faces of ye woemen as beautifull as may bee, ye figures gracious and suelta; wch I will procure ye Abath d'Escaglia to tell unto ye said Jordaens; for I have made use of the said Abbate in this buisnesse, as you will see by coppy, herewth, of ye memorandum [276] wch Mr. Norgate carryed wth him, when he returned from hence into England; in wch I have exprest a coursse necessary to bee taken for ye paymt, since painters pencells move not wth out yt musicke.

I have since desired ye said Mr. Norgate to know his Majts pleasure, whether Sr Peeter Rubens his pencell would not please as well as yt of Jordans, so would bee as reasonable in ye price; on wch point I have receaved noe answeare, though I have redoubled ye quæries; to wch I was mooved, because I understood, by ye said Mr. Norgate, yt you did doubte yt Jordans should have made a picture wch Q. Mother is said to have of his hand, but rather did conceave ye picture to bee of Sr Peeter Rubens disciple, wch, if prooved so, might have fallen out contrary unto her Majts expectation; But since his Majty, after perusing of ye designe Jordans sent, commands ye worke to go on, I desire you would bee pleased, first, to represent unto his Majty ye contents of ye article of ye aforesaid

[276] See ante, p. 211.

memorandum, touching y^e^ monneys for payment: Secondly, to cause a measure sent (as soone possible in y^e^ said kinde sett downe in y^e^ memorandum) of y^e^ first picture, his Maj^ty^ would have made to fitt in y^e^ roome for w^ch^ y^e^ worke is intended.

So I rest, &c.

B. Gerbier.

CCXVI. SIR B. GERBIER TO INIGO JONES.

Brussels, $\frac{Mar.\ 28}{Apr.\ 7}$, 1640.

Mr. Surveyer,

Sir:

Till I have spoken, touching the Pictures to be made by Jordans, or by S^r^ Peter Reubens, w^th^ the Abate d'Escaglia (who is come from Antwerp hether & is now in his devotions according the time), I can but accuse the receipt of y^r^ letter, dated 20^th^ March, and putt unto y^r^ remembrance the two principall points markt in the Instructions Mr. Norgate carried w^th^ him, the procuring the exact measures of the intended pictures, in the manner sett downe in his saide instructions & the matter for payment settled; for these men will have that found 'ere they part from their ware.

I rest, &c.

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the Flemish.*]

CCXVII. SIR B. GERBIER TO SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, April $\frac{3}{13}$, 1640.

Sir:

I have received, with much pleasure, your long letter, which has assured me that you have not been so ill as I had been told you were, for the characters are as good as your own hand-writing often is. I hope that, with the approaching fine weather, you will be still better and that we shall be able to embrace one another yet again for the last time; for I calculate on leaving this place, whenever the good King shall command or permit. We are thinking every day about packing up, buying trunks and making the necessary provisions for such a disturbance as that will be. I have completed here nine years, remained my best time, and spent much in misery, amongst men who do not understand them-

selves, much less others, who may not give account of their actions to their own sovereign. This place has been a receptacle of many exiled malcontents, who have not remained true to themselves, much less to others; so that in such a labyrinth I have been a mere martyr, and had I not had Ariadne's thread, the thread of patience, I should never have been able to make my way through.

I am expecting, with great devotion, to hear from Spain, what satisfaction the good King and noble Duke will give to the King my Master, on the false accusations of the stupid Duke of Arschot, as to the particular of the Secretary of England, by which most are of my opinion that I am personally meant.[277]

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CCXVIII. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO FRANÇOIS DUQUESNOY.[278]

Antwerp, April $\frac{7}{17}$, 1640.

Dear Friend:

I cannot express to you my obligations for the models you have sent me, as also for the plaister casts of those two admirable children, with which you have ornamented the epitaph of M. van Huffel, in the church of The Anima. It is not art, it is nature herself who is seen in this marble, so softened, and so full of life. What shall I say of the universal and well-merited praise which the statue of St. Andrew, just exposed, has earned for you? Your glory and your celebrity, my dear friend, redound through our whole nation. If my age, and a fatal gout which devours me, did not retain me here, I would instantly depart, and go and admire, with my own eyes, things so worthy of admiration. But, since I cannot have that satisfaction, I hope, at least, to have that of seeing you incessantly among us: and I do not doubt, but that our dear country will one day be glorified with the works with which you have ornamented it. Please Heaven that that may happen before death, which will soon close my eyes for ever, deprives me of the

277 The remainder of this letter, which is very long, relates entirely to his dispute before-mentioned with the Duke of Arschot.

278 This letter, in which Rubens thanks the famous sculptor François Duquesnoy, for certain presents, which he had sent him from Rome, will be found printed in French by Alfred Michiels, p. 181, who also says that the original (in French) belonged, in 1761, to Prince Gallitzin, Ambassador from Russia to the States General of Holland, where Count Cobentzell gave it to him.

inexpressible pleasure of contemplating the marvels which that skilful hand executes, and which I kiss from the bottom of my heart.

Your very affectionate and very obliged servant,

PETER PAUL RUBENS.

CCXIX. SIR B. GERBIER TO KING CHARLES I. (*Postscript.*)

Brussels, April $\frac{11}{21}$, 1640.

RUBENS prooves lame, and Jordaens will not worke without money.

Mr. Surveyor answeris not on that point.

[*Translated from the Flemish.*]

CCXX. SIR B. GERBIER TO SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS. (*Extracts.*)

Brussels, April $\frac{19}{29}$, 1640.

SIR:

* * * * *

I observe what you say about the tapestries, whereby you would blame the work which is in the prison [*den vercken die int 'cot*]. I have no doubt of your prudence. Your masters, also, have had no cause to mistrust your affection, which you, with so many other singular qualities, most clearly show, and which makes them love you as I do, for it.

* * * * *

In fine; it would be ill reward for the good offices which I have done, yea offices, yea good offices in the highest degree, for, as God knows, you will remember that we were the cause of the going of the extraordinary Ambassador. Yet what shall we say, when men have neither ears, nor eyes, nor natural feelings; therefore it is best for me and mine to choose another climate. Please God the great Charles will grant me such a thing, and I shall, in all places and occasions, be your servant, and try to show you all the friendship that such an opportunity will afford.

The Picture of the Landscape, St. Laurens in the Escurial, shall wait with devotion. The Abbé [de Scaglia] has departed, after that he had remained here a fitting time. I do not think he came here for the sake of Lotteries [*Lotteringhen*]. Herewith will

I end, in order not to weary you with too long discourses, which you also, with obliging humility, [are willing] to receive and to write, for I can well think what your business must be. All our hearty greetings are presented to you in this conclusion from my wife to yours, and from all who are dear to you.[279]

B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CCXXI. SIR B. GERBIER TO THE ABBÉ DE SCAGLIA.

Brussels, $\frac{April\ 29}{May\ 9}$, 1640.

Sir:

Two days ago I troubled you with one of my letters; I now write another to consult you about Jordaens' work, to know if means cannot be taken to speak to the Sieur Rubens concerning the pictures for the sofito only, for which the Sieur Jordaens has put down in his *Memoire* 1980 florins,[280] which he demands for painting the nine pieces of the said sofito.

Perhaps, the Sieur Jordaens will be very glad to get rid of the said sofito, on account of the fore-shortenings, and that Mons. Rubens will not make any difficulty (being in a fit state to work) about undertaking the said sofito; in which case, it would be a satisfaction to the parties, who wish to have the sofito by the hand of Rubens, and to me to have accomplished what I am commanded to do. And, if the Sieur Rubens is not yet in a fit state to work, or that he refuses to undertake the sofito for the price of 1980 florins, his refusal will not the less discharge me from having done my duty.

If you can manage to know the long and the short of this business, you will confer on me an additional obligation. I send you a copy of the size of the drawing of the sofito, consisting, as I have already said, of nine pieces; so that you may have no difficulty with the Sieur Rubens; the said paper may be of service to you. Meanwhile, I believe that the picture, which the Sieur Jordaens has finished, will be corrected, as you have informed me, and that I shall be able to see it and give him satisfaction for it.

[279] The letter, from which the above extracts are taken, is very long; the remainder relates to his dispute with the Duke of Arschot, &c.

[280] It will have been remarked that Jordaens in his *Note* [see ante, p. 213] estimated the price of the sofito at 2400 florins.

But, if you do not think it proper to appear in this matter, and to speak to the Sieur Rubens, and that it would be more convenient to you for some other steps to be taken, I beg of you to write me an answer, as soon as possible, and to excuse, as I have already said, the trouble I give you, &c.

B. Gerbier.

CCXXII. SIR B. GERBIER TO "MR. SURVEYER INIGO JONES, ESQ., SURVEYOR GENERALL OF HIS MAJ^{s} WORKES."

Brussels, May $\frac{2}{12}$, 1640.

Sir:

I have received your letter of 23 Aprill, wherein y^{u} say that my Lord Cottington hath order to make over the £680 starl^{g} (English money) w^{ch} Jordaens (the painter) did demand, for to make the pictures belonging to her Maj^{ts} Cabinet; but that his Lo^{p} must first cause a privy Seale to be made ready, w^{ch} (as y^{u} say) will require some time. Jordaens hath finish't one of the pictures, that whereof I sent a draught unto his Maj^{ty}; the Abate d'Escaglia had the care to advertise Jordaens of somewhat to be mended therein, w^{ch} he now saith is don, & the picture ready to be sent unto me, for the last controule on this side the Seas. Jordaens doth not know for whom the picture is & it wilbe well he remayne (as long possible) in that thrifty ignorance, for these men know that a pound starl^{g} is more than a patacon.

The said Abbate d'Escaglia hath spoken wth S^{r} Peter Reubens, (who hath bin out of frame, almost this yeare, by the gout). He is willing to undertake the Sofito, w^{ch} is the hardest in y^{e} worke; he takes time to resolve on the price, w^{ch}, if exceedes not too much that of Jordaens, should not breake squares, since it may be thought their Maj^{ts} would be more satisfied in the variety of the hands: I doubt not but that by the next Ord^{r} I shalbe able to certifie S^{r} Peter Reubens price: in the interim I must recommend unto your care a thrifty conceite, w^{ch} may serve to make the £680 raise to a better somme, & soe serve to fill S^{r} Peter Reubens mouth if in the price he should gape wide.

It's thus, the £680, (first price of S^{r} Jordaens) if paid unto Mr. Kipp, may be remitted to me, & soe there wilbe gained 8 (or) 9 in the hundred by the Exchange, w^{ch}, on the somme, will amount unto £60, whereas Marchants have their secret conveyances, in w^{ch} gent^{n} become loosers by their coyne, you can if you please

represent this unto their Maj^{ts}, or unto my Lord Cottington & that I must not be to seeke in the payment, since the pincell of Jordaens is stirring on the worke.

You wilbe pleased to acquaint alsoe his Maj^{ty}, that I have received this weeke, from Antwerp, the Landskipp w^{ch} represents that of St. Laurenzo in the Escuriall, don by a painter att Antwerp,[281] after S^{r} Peeter Reubens his designe. I doe watch a fitt opportunity to send the same unto his Maj^{ty}, by a sure Messenger, since the conveyances here are slowe and somewhat uncertaine, by reason of the march of Soldatesqua [? *Soldadesca*, soldiery]. I doe expect (according y^{r} promise) the exact measures in threed for the pictures aforesaid & soe I rest &c.,

B. Gerbier.

Pray know, of his Maj^{ty}, whether I am to give unto S^{r} Peter Reubens a reward for the Landskipp, or whether it shalbe made good to him in the bargaine of the Sofito, though he shall not know at first the mistery. Jordaens hath sett for the Sofito £240 starl^{gs}, thus much p^{r} adviso.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CCXXIII. SIR B. GERBIER TO MONS^{R}. GERMAIN.[282]

Brussels, May $\frac{9}{19}$, 1640.

Sir:

It is some time since I received orders to speak to a painter of Antwerp (named Jordaens) about some pictures which the Queen wishes to apply to a cabinet, which I believe to be at Greenwich. I have been ordered to manage, so that it may not be known the pictures are for her Majesty, and I have rigidly done so. The Sieur Norgate (who brought me the commission) has been a long time sending the necessary answers, touching the money, without which the people here will not give their commodities. He has not returned me any answer, whether it be her Majesty's pleasure that the Sieur Rubens put his hand to the said work. Mons. [Inigo] Jones has since written to me that the King had not heard Rubens spoken of in this particular. I

[281] Verhulst, see Rubens' letter, dated $\frac{5}{15}$ March, 1639—40, ante, p. 217.
[282] Henry Germain, Master of the Horse to Queen Henrietta Maria.

have had an additional order, to know whether Rubens would work for the same price as Jordaens, for the ceiling only.

I now write to the King on this particular, and send him the original letter from the Abbé d'Scaglia, who is the negotiator in this business, so that the painters may not know who they are for. Mons. l'Abbé says, that Rubens asks £240 sterling more than Jordaens. I tell his Majesty that I think Rubens will give the most satisfaction as to the ceiling, the difference in the price ought not, in my opinion, to hinder his painting it. I have thought I might trouble you with this affair of recreation, so that, should it please you to say a word to the Queen, I may, as soon as possible, receive the King's commands in this particular, since his Majesty has taken it in charge. Her Majesty will see in a few days (God willing) one of the pictures Jordaens has done for the work. I am troubling you, Sir, only under a pretext; meanwhile, may it please you to honour me with your commands in more essential things, remaining, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

CCXXIV. B. GERBIER TO KING CHARLES I. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, May $\frac{9}{19}$, 1640.

May it please your gratious Maj^tie:

Though its manifest enough that your Maj^ties time is precious, yet some minutes being necessary for recreation, though it should be to looke on baubles as pictures are to some, I thought fitt therefore to send heire inclosed the Abbate d'Escaglia, his letter to me, bearing his proceedings w^th S^r Pieter Rubens, whoe askes (*sans replique*) 2000 patacons, w^ch are 480 pounds starlings, to make the pictures for the seeling, w^ch Jordaens would make for halfe the price, butt agree perhaps better to a more grosse ellement then that of the supperior.

I have now desired the Abbate d'Escaglia to knowe (w^thout spending more time about a triffle) whether Sir Pieter Rubens will fill the small 6 peeces of the seeling w^th festoens or little children representing loves, as he propounds the same to be putt into a third hand, w^ch I cannot like since to many Cookes spoile the broth. I doe expect an answeare w^th the first. My Secretary[283]

[283] Mr. Sydney Beare, who became Secretary to Sir H. Vane, his Majesty's Sec. of State, and was appointed Resident in Sweden, December 15, 1652.

is on his returne into England, and that for good an all. He shall carry w^th^ him the Picture w^ch^ Jordaens hath made, itt being that whereof your Maj^ty^ had a draft, and deliver also unto your Maj^ty^ the Landskip, representing the Country about the Escuriall. Your Maj^tie^ will be graciously pleased (having seene Jordaens worke) to commande, iff he shall proceede w^th^ the other peeces, and iff S^r^ Pieter Rubens shall be put on those of the Seeling, though itt should cost 240 £ starling more.

I have, in my last letter unto Mr. Surveyor, propounded a thrifty expedient to increase the somme, by the gaine of the Exchange, your Maj^tie^ will lafe att the same, since the expedient is more consonnant unto a poore pursse then to the hearing of a greate Monarche, yett doe such sometimes excuse the thrifty conceate of theire servants and gracefully accept their good will, though butt in a trifle.

* * * * *

Your Maj^tics^ most humble, most obedient, most loyal
Subject, and most zealous obliged Servant,
B. Gerbier.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CCXXV. ABBÉ DE SCAGLIA TO SIR B. GERBIER.

Antwerp, May $\frac{3}{13}$, 1640.

Sir:

I have just seen the Chevalier Rubens, having found him at present without company. He tells me that, having considered the trouble, which cannot be avoided in the fore-shortenings (raccourcissements), and that necessarily to adjust the designs, there will require to be much in relief (which takes up time), he does not know how he can do it for less than two thousand patagons.[284] This is, he says, the lowest price, and *sans replique*, His advice would be, to place, in the middle, the Banquet of the Gods; on one side, when Cupid, having undertaken to make Psyche amorous with one of the populace, becomes amorous himself, and on the other side, her being immortalised in the heavens. The diversity of figures will present an agreeable

[284] Gerbier has added—"2000 patacons, att 48 stuyvers, are 4800 florins, which are 480*l.* sterling."

picture to the eye. He proposes, nevertheless, if it is wished, that others should be employed for the remaining six pieces, that, in such case, to avoid the different styles of painting from being observed, grotesque or other inventions, without figures, might be introduced, desiring, however, to know the height of the place, in order to adhere to the right proportions. I will await whatever you may think that I can do in this matter, wishing in this, and all other ways, to testify how perfectly I am, Sir,

Your very humble
and very obedient Servant,
A. De Scaglia.

CCXXVI. SIR B. GERBIER TO INIGO JONES.

M^R^ Surveyer,
Sir:

Brussels, May $\frac{9}{19}$, 1640.

I write unto his Maj^ty^, by this Ordinary, touching the pictures. S^r^ Peter Reubens doth aske £240 more then Jordaens for the Sofito; he may deserve it, soe his Maj^ty^ will condescend to the price. The somme of the whole worke would amount unto £885 starl^g^, that is to say £480 for the Sofito made by S^r^ Peter Reubens, & £485 [285] for the pictures about the rome to be made by Jordaens. My secretary is on his departure hence for England; he shalbe charged w^th^ the first picture Jordaens hath made & w^th^ the Landskipp, representing the country about the Escuriall: I shall expect his Maj^ts^ finall resolution touching the aforesaid Pictures & prises; pray hould a hand thereunto, and, on the point of moneyes, that the thing may be done & sure. If the moneyes be paid att London (as I said in my former, there may be gained on the £885 att 8 in the hundred (since the exchange doth often fall) £70; soe, as to make the somme fall here, there must be paid att London £825, w^ch^ will make here the summe of £885 or thereabouts. Its all I have to trouble you w^th^, on this case, for the present, pray lett me heare in a word what to be don thereon, Soe I rest y^rs^ in great haste, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

[285] Gerbier has evidently made a mistake in these two sums. Rubens demanded 480*l.* for the pictures for the Sofito; [see Gerbier's letter May $\frac{3}{19}$, 1640, ante p. 224] and "the note of Jordaens," [ante p. 213], for the thirteen pictures, which were to decorate the walls of the Cabinet, amounts to 440*l.* after deducting 240*l.* for the nine pieces for the Sofito.

CCXXVII. SIR B. GERBIER TO KING CHARLES I. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, May $\frac{16}{26}$, 1640.

May it please your gratious Maj^{ty}:

* * * * *

I shall send, next weeke, the picture of Jordaens, it being now drie, that of St. Laurenzo will goe wth it.

* * * * *

Y^{r} Maj^{tys} &c.,
B. Gerbier.

CCXXVIII. SIR B. GERBIER TO W. MURRAY.[286]

M^{R} Murray,
Sir:

Brussels, May $\frac{21}{31}$, 1640.

As by your letter of Oct. 17th, 1639, I received the first direction to bespeake certayne pictures to be made here by one Jordaens, I have charged this bearer to deliver unto you the first peece,[287] w^{ch} the same Jordaens hath made of the nomber required for her Maj^{ts} cabinet, though he knoweth not, as yett, for whom the pictures are to be. They would have bin dispatch't ere this, if I had received timely directions, & the payment had bin setled, w^{ch} Mr. Norgate (by his last of $\frac{9}{19}$ pres. to me) saith was soe farre advanced as you had spoken unto S^{r} Job. Harvey[288] touching the same. When I see the effects thereof, on this side the seas, then shall I be innabled to give Jordaens satisfaction for this first picture & to warne him to goe on wth the rest.

[286] This letter is transcribed from Gerbier's letter-book, and does not contain the Postscript, which will be found added to the original, printed by Dawson Turner, Esq. (for private circulation), with the "Catalogue of the Works of Art in the possession of Sir Peter Paul Rubens at the time of his decease." It is however addressed to William Murray, Groom of the Bedchamber [see ante p. 211, note 272], and not to Mr. Henry Murrey, Keeper of the King's pictures, as stated by Dawson Turner in his "prefatory remarks."

[287] Dawson Turner says,—"It is impossible now to ascertain what this picture was; in all probability it never reached its destination, and the rest of the order was never executed," &c. A letter from Gerbier, dated December $\frac{5}{15}$, 1640, [see p.234] shows however that this "first peece," most probably, did reach its destination. "Jordaens had wrought on several of the pictures intended for her Majesty," and not only "money is looked for by the said Jordaens," but "one hundred pounds had been received on Sir Job. Harby's order."

[288] Sir Job. Harby, Knight, of Aldenham, Herts, was a merchant in London, and one of the Commissioners of the Customs. He was created a Baronet by Charles II. in 1660: the title became extinct seventeen years afterwards, upon the death of his son, Sir Erasmus Harby. (Dawson Turner, *ut supra.*)

You will find, in the same case, a picture representing the Country about the Escurial in Spaine, w^ch^ hath bin painted by one of Antwerp, after S^r^ Peeter Reubens draught & is presented by him unto his Maj^ty^; since (according Mr. Norgate's relation) it was soe desired. I doe send, here inclosed, S^r^ Peter Ruebens his letter touching that subject, w^ch^ letter you wilbe pleased to show unto his Maj^ty^; soe ceasing giving you further trouble, kisse your hands, & rest, &c.

B. Gerbier.

S^r^ Peter Rubens is deadly sick; The Phisicians of this Towne being sent unto him for to trye theire best skill on him.

[*Inclosure.*]

[*Translated from the French, which see in Appendix* A, No. XXVIII.]

CCXXIX.[289] SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR B. GERBIER.

Sir: [*Antwerp, April,* 1640.]

Here is the Picture of St. Laurens in Escurial, finished according to the capacity of the Master, under my direction, however. Please God the extravagance of the Subject may give some recreation to his Majesty. The Mountain is called the Sierra de St. Juan in Malagon, it is very high and steep, and very difficult to ascend and descend, so that the clouds beneath us were very low, the sky above remaining very clear and serene. There is, at the summit, a great wooden cross, which is easily discerned from Madrid, and there is, on one side, a little church dedicated to St. John, which could not be represented in the Picture, for it was behind our backs, where a Hermit lives who is here seen with his *borico* [mule]. I need scarcely say that below is the Superb Building of St. Laurens in Escurial, with the Village and its avenues of Trees, with the Frisneda and its two ponds, and the road towards Madrid, which appears above,

[289] The original of this letter is in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq., by whom it is printed in fac-simile only (for private circulation) in his "Catalogue of Rubens' effects." The letter was addressed to Gerbier about the end of April 1640, in consequence, as will have been seen, of a previous correspondence on the subject. I take this opportunity of again returning my best thanks to Mr. Turner for his kind permission to reprint it.

near the horizon. The Mountain, covered with snow, is called La Sierra Tocada, because it has, almost always as it were, a veil round about its summit. There is a tower and a house on one side, though I do not remember their name particularly, but I know the King went there at times when hunting. The Mountain quite to the left is La Sierra y puerto de butrago. Which is all I can say on this subject.

Remaining ever, Sir,
Your very humble servant,
PETER PAUL RUBENS.

I forgot to say, that at the summit, we met with plenty of *forse vinayson*, as is represented in the Picture. [Gerbier has added—He meanes deare w^ch^ is called venson when putt in crust.]

CCXXX. SIR B. GERBIER TO KING CHARLES I.

Brussels, May $\frac{21}{31}$, 1640.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJ^TY^:

THE inclosed of the Abath d'Escaglia[290] markes, in it's beginning, the price he hath made w^th^ Jordaens, for the picture, w^ch^ this bearer carrieth, and fills his said letter w^th^ a discourse, in some part like the speculations of others, on the present estate of affaires, w^ch^ God graunt may turne to y^r^ Maj^ts^ satisfaction, the wishes of

Y^r^ Maj^ts^ &c.,
B. GERBIER.

Since I finisht this letter, neewes is come of S^r^ Pieter Rubens death, many fine things wilbe sould in his *Almoneda* [public sale].

CCXXXI. SIR B. GERBIER TO WILLIAM MURRAY.[291]

Brussels, $\frac{May\ 23}{June\ 2}$, 1640.

S^R^:

MY Secretary parted hence eare, yesterday, w^th^ y^e^ Picture Jordans hath made, and a Landschipp, drawne after a designe of S^r^ Peeter

[290] I regret that I do not find this inclosure.

[291] This letter is transcribed from Gerbier's letter-book, in the State Paper Office; the original is printed (for private circulation) by Dawson Turner, Esq., *ut supra*.

Rubens, w^{ch} peeces my said Secretary is to deliver unto yo^{r} selfe, to present them unto his Maj^{ty}. Since, by y^{r} lr̃e, I receaved y^{e} first direction, touching y^{e} pictures off Jordans, S^{r} Job. Harbys correspondent hath payed £44 starlings to y^{e} Abot d'Escaglias Secretary, to bee repayed to Jordaens for his picture, w^{ch} is a most reasonable price, as you shall see by y^{e} worke, w^{ch}, iff his Maj^{ty} likes, Jordaens may bee sett on to finish y^{e} otther peeces belonging to y^{e} roome. S^{r} Peeter Rubens is deceased three dayes past, so as Jordaens remaynes y^{e} prime painter here. There wilbe manny raritys of Pictures, Agats, and otther pretious things sould in S^{r} Peeter Rubens out-cry; iff his Maj^{ty} would have annything bought, it must bee knowne in time and bills off creditt sent; for it must bee done with reddy monney. I cease troubling you wth more, humbly kisse y^{r} hands and rest, Et^{a},

B. Gerbier.

CCXXXII. SIR B. GERBIER TO INIGO JONES.

Brussels, $\frac{May\ 23}{June\ 2}$, 1640.

Mr. Surveyer, etc.,

S^{R}:

My Secretary went hence eare yesterday, and carrieth wth him Jordans picture and y^{e} Landschipp of S^{r} Peeter Rubens I mention^{d} in my former. I doe send you, herewith, y^{e} first desyne off y^{e} Squares for w^{ch} y^{e} pictures are intended; you will bee pleased to cause y^{e} measures to bee taken and sent mee as before said; for, now his Maj^{ty} will see y^{e} first peece off Jordans, I shall soon heare whether his pleasure is y^{t} hee shall continue to make y^{e} rest off y^{e} pictures, since there are none more to bee expected from S^{r} Peeter Rubens, whoe deceased three dayes past off a deflaction w^{ch} fell on his heart, after some dayes indisposition of ague and goutte; hee is much regretted and com̃ended, hath left a rich widdow, and rich children; many raryties, w^{ch} will be sould by out-cry. Iff his Maj^{ty}, my Lord Mar^{all} [Arundel], and other *Liefhebbers* (lovers of art) would have off his said rarityes, itt were necessary they sent bills off creditt, for such summes as they would imploy; since wthout reddy monney nothing can bee had, there being also many hands readdy ag^{t} y^{e} time of y^{e} out-cry: wth more I shall not trouble you att this time: rest: Et^{a},

B. Gerbier.

CCXXXIII. SIR B. GERBIER TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY.

Brussels, $\frac{May\ 23}{June\ 2}$, 1640.

May it please y^R^ Excellency:

S^r^ Peeter Rubens deceased three dayes since; all his rarityes of Pictures, Statues, Agates, Ivory cutt workes, and Drawings will bee sould outt off hand. Iff his Maj^ty^, or y^r^ Lo^p^, would have anny of his said rarityes bought, bills off credit would bee necessary to make good y^e^ paym^t^; since w^th^out monney nothing can bee made sure. I thought fitt to notice y^e^ same, ceasing giving more trouble to y^r^ Excel: remaine, Et^a^,

B. Gerbier.

It will be seen, by the preceding letter from Gerbier, that the Great Flemish Artist, Sir Peter Paul Rubens, died on the 20th of May, 1640,[292] aged sixty-two years, ten months, and twenty-one days, "off a deflaction which fell on his heart, after some days indisposition of ague and goutte;" He was much regretted and commended; and left a rich widow, rich children, and a very valuable collection of Pictures, and Statues, besides many other choice and beautiful rarityes.

He was interred on the 23rd of May [2nd June, N.S.], 1640, in the Sieur Fourment's vault, in his parish Church of St. James, at Antwerp.

His funeral was performed with solemn pomp. The procession consisted of the clergy of the Collegiate Church of St. James' and several orders of the poor, to whose comfort he was a liberal contributor. On each side of the bier, were sixty orphan boys with torches; these were followed by the chief officers of the city, many noblemen, merchants, and citizens of Antwerp, and the members of the Academy of Painting.

[292] It has always been said that Rubens died on May 30, 1640; but the ten days' difference between the old and new style, from the year 1582 to 1699, must always be taken into account, when fixing the date of an event which occurs in a Roman Catholic country. The Gregorian, or Reformed Calendar, was not used in England until September, 1752. An act was then passed, ordering the day following the 2nd of September to be reckoned the 14th, which allowed eleven days for the discrepancy in the old and the new styles, during the eighteenth century.

His most intimate friend, Dr. Gevaerts, composed his epitaph, which is as follows :—[293]

D. O. M.
Petrus Paulus Rubenius Eques
Ioannis, Hujus Urbis Senatoris,
Filius Steenii Toparcha :
Hic situs est,
Qui inter cæteras quibus ad miraculum
Excelluit Doctrinæ Historiæ Priscæ,
Omniumque bonarum artium et elegantiarum dotes,
Non sui tantum sæculi,
Sed et omnis Ævi
Apelles dici meruit :
Atque ad Regum Principumque virorum amicitias
Gradum sibi fecit ;
A Philippo IV Hispaniarum Indiarumque Rege
Inter sanctioris concilii scribas adscitus,
Et ad Carolum I. Magnæ Britanniæ Regem
Anno MDCXXIX Delegatus
Pacis inter eosdem Principes mox initæ
Fundamenta feliciter posuit
Obiit Anno Sal: MDCXL. XXX Maii. Ætatis LXIV.

Hoc Monumentum à clarissimo Gevartio
Olim Petro Paulo Rubenio consecratum
À Posteris huc usque neglectum,
Rubenianâ stirpe masculinâ jam inde extinctâ
Hoc anno MDCC.LV poni curavit
R. D. Ioannes Bapt: Iacobus De Parys,
Hujus insignis Ecclesiæ Canonicus
Ex Matre et Aviâ Rubeniâ Nepos.
R. I. P.

[293] To God, the Greatest, Best ; Here lies Peter Paul Rubens, Knight & Governor of Steen, the son of John, a Senator of this City, who deserved to be called Apelles, among the other gifts in which he excelled to a miracle, viz., of learning, ancient history, and all the fine arts and elegances, not only of his own time, but also of every age, he made for himself a step to the friendships of Kings and Princely Men ; promoted to be a Secretary of the Privy Council by Philip IV. King of Spain and the Indies, and sent on an Embassy to Charles King of Great Britain, in the year of Our Lord 1629, when he happily laid the foundations of the peace, which was soon after concluded between those Princes. He died in the year of Salvation 1640, on the 30th of May, Aged 64.

In this Year 1755, the Rev. Jean Baptiste Jacques de Parys, Canon of this distinguished Church, a Descendant from Rubens, through his Mother and Grandmother, caused this monument to be renewed, which, in times past, had been made sacred to [the memory of] Peter Paul Rubens, by the eminent Gevartius ; but by a subsequent posterity neglected until now ; descendants of Rubens, in the male line, having become extinct.

May he rest in peace.

On the 4th of March, 1642, his remains were placed in a tomb, built by the authority of the bishop, behind the Choir of St. James's Church, where they rest to this day. His sepulchral stone is placed before an altar, decorated with one of his pictures, which represents the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus, in a cradle of leaves.[294]

The person of Rubens is described to have been of just proportions; his height about five feet nine and a half inches; his face oval, with regular and finely-formed features, dark hazel eyes, a clear and ruddy complexion, contrasted by curling hair of an auburn colour, with mustaches and beard; his carriage was easy and noble; his introduction and manners exceedingly graceful and attractive; his conversation was facile and engaging, and, when animated in discourse, his eloquence, delivered with full and clear intonation of voice, was at all times powerful and persuasive.

CCXXXIV. SIR B. GERBIER TO HENRY GERMAIN. (*Extract.*)

Brussels, $\frac{May\ 30}{June\ 9}$, 1640.

Noble S^{R}:

I doe render humble thanckes for y^{r} lr̃e of 15 May, and whereas one off Jordans pictures will have bin (eare this) showed unto her Maj^{ty}, y^{t} I am but to expect now her gracious cõmands for y^{e} rest, since Jordans remaines y^{e} prime painter here now S^{r} Peeter Rubens is deceased.

* * * * *

B. Gerbier.

CCXXXV. SIR B. GERBIER TO WILLIAM MURRAY.

Brussels, June $\frac{6}{16}$, 1640.

S^{R}:

I see, by my friend Ed. Norgates lr̃e, y^{t} an inventory off S^{r} Peeter Rubens rarietyes is desired. I am mindfull off itt, and am promist a coppy as soone y^{e} inventory made. I will then send itt, and can give you hearty thankes, for y^{t} you have bin pleased to expresse a willingnesse to speake a good woord for my releafe. You know how sweete it is to doe good, and for whome, the number of myne all present here their humble service to y^{r}selfe (S^{r}) and to y^{r} sweete noble best bedd-fellow; So in great haste I rest

S^{r}, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

[294] Alf. Michiels, pp. 181—2, who describe this picture in detail.

CCXXXVI. SIR B. GERBIER TO INIGO JONES.

Brussels, June $\frac{13}{23}$, 1640.

M^R^ Survayer, etc.,

S^R^:

I have receaved y^e^ measures, in thredd, for y^e^ peeces of painting for her Maj^ts^ Cabinett at Greenwich. I will send them unto Jordaens, but first put to them otther papers, bearing y^e^ names in y^e^ French toungue, y^t^ hee may not, as yett, know for whome y^e^ pictures are; since by S^r^ Peeter Rubens decease he may bee become more deere in his paintings. The items, w^ch^ you doe marcke for Jordans observations, shall be putt unto his remembrance, as I have done heretofore, by y^e^ Abbot d'Escaglia; I will cause my said frind, y^e^ Abbot, to give a spurre to y^e^ expedition. It being all I have to say on this casse, I rest with my best wishes to y^r^selfe, etc^a^.

S^r^, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

CCXXXVII. SIR B. GERBIER TO INIGO JONES.

Brussels, December $\frac{5}{15}$, 1640.

M^R^ Surveyer,

Sir:

In answeare of y^r^ l̃re of 27^th^ Nov^r^, Jordans hath wrought on severall of y^e^ pictures intended for her Maj^ty^, as y^e^ Abbot d'Escaglia hath long signyfied unto mee, with y^e^ item that monney is lookt for by y^e^ said Jordaens; of w^ch^ I have given notice unto Mr. Norgate, who returned for answeare y^t^ Mr. Murrey had taken order on y^t^ poinct; wh^ch^ as yet appeares not soe to mee. The summe for y^e^ whole worke is £680; one hundred hath bin receaved on S^r^ Job. Harbie his order; Jordans hath not as yett bin tould (forasmuch I know) for whome y^e^ pictures are; the Abbot d'Escaglia is y^e^ man hee takes notice off; Itt were noe civillytie (as I doe conceave) to putt y^e^ Abbott on y^e^ delivery of y^e^ pictures, (made) w^th^ empty hands, Its all I can say on this poinct, soe I rest

S^r^, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

CCXXXVIII. SIR B. GERBIER TO WILLIAM MURRAY.

Brussels, July $\frac{4}{14}$, 1640.

Noble S^R^:

I doe send, herew^th^, y^e^ register, w^ch^ I have receaved but yesterday from Antwerp, of y^e^ late S^r^ Peeter Rubens raritye s; w^ch^ paper is a true translation of it's originall. Iff his Maj^ty^ and y^r^selfe sends gelt, and doe cause to bee pricht such parcells as I shalbe commanded to consider, I will in y^t^, as in all other things, endeav^r^ to obey most punctually, and venter my skill for y^e^ right choice; but gelt is y^e^ mayne matter, and soe would a favorable word in my particular helpe, to farther y^e^ paym^t^ of my arreares, which would bee more comfort to mee then shaddowes off things;

I am S^r^, &c.,

B. Gerbier.

The "Register of the late Sir Peter Rubens' rarities" inclosed by Gerbier in the foregoing letter, for the especial information of King Charles I., is, most probably, the identical "Inventory of Pictures found in the Howse of the late S^r^ Peter Paul Rubens, Kn^t^, after his death," printed for private circulation in 1839, by Dawson Turner, Esq., who has most kindly permitted me to reprint it in this place. Mr. Turner observes, that the numbers attached to the articles, are the same as in the printed Catalogue, published in France, shortly after the death of the Artist, to enable his family the better to dispose of his effects. Yet still, as will be seen by the notes, it is obvious, that this English Catalogue is not a translation from the other. These Notes I have only added, where the printed Catalogue so far differed from the MS. as to serve to throw light upon it. The number and value of these works of art, are strikingly illustrative of the character and position of the man.[295] They equally show his attachment to his profession and the extent of his pecuniary resources. They are said to have produced the sum of £25,000.

[295] The Catalogue of the Works of Art in the possession of Rubens, at the time of his death, contain 319 pictures alone. At first, it was the intention of the family to sell the whole collection by auction, but this did not take place, and the pictures, after being valued by Snyders, Wildens, and Nicholas Moermans, were sold separately, by private contract. The principal purchasers were the King of Spain, the Emperor of Germany, the King of Poland, the Elector of Bavaria, and Cardinal Richelieu, the latter of whom obtained a great part of his most valuable works. The collection of gems and cameos, which is said to have been extremely valuable, together with his medals and carvings, were bought altogether by the King of Spain.—*Smith's Cat. Rais.* The following "Inventory" contains but 314 pictures.

AN INVENTORY OF PICTURES FOUND IN THE HOWSE OF THE LATE S^R^ PETER PAUL RUBENS, KN^T^, AFTER HIS DEATH.

IMPRIMIS, PEICES OF ITALIAN M^RS^.

NO.

1. A Magdalen of Titian.
2. A Saviour with a World in his hand; by Titian.
3. A Great Draught of the Martirdome of Peter Martyr, which stands in the Church of St. John and St. Paul, at Venice; by Titian.
4. The picture of Titian himselfe; made by himselfe.
5. The picture of Charles the 5^th^; by Titian.
6. A picture of Marie; by Titian.
7, 8. Two faces of Christ; held for Titian.
9. A face of Magdalene.
10. A draught of Horses; by Titian.
11. A Psyche, with a bottle in her hand; by Titian.[a]
12. A draught of a Womans face; afterwards paynted over by Paulo de Veronna.[b]
13. A curious picture of a Man with Furres on; by Tintoret.
14. The picture of Tintoret; by himselfe.
15. A picture of a Venetian; by Tintoret.
16. Another of a Venetian; by Tintoret.
17. A draught of the Ascension; by Tintoret.[c]
18. A draught of the Judgment; by Tintoret.
19. A picture of a Man, held to be of Raphael.
20. A St. Francys; made by Mutiano.
21. A Venetian Bride with her kindred; by Paulo de Verrona.
22. A St. Helena; held to be Paulo Verrona's.
23. A picture of a Venetian Gentlewoman; by Paulo de Verrona.
24. A Gentlewoman with a little hatt; by the same.[d]
25. A draught of Black and White; by Paulo de Verrona.
26. A Landshcap of Paul Brill's with a Psyche.
27. The takeinge of Christ in the garden; by Spagnoletto.

[a] In the Catalogue, this is not said to be painted by Titian, but only touched by him.

[b] "Un dessein de teste de femme, tournée derrière, de Paulo Verronez." Catalogue.

[c] Of the Assumption of the Virgin, according to the Catalogue.

[d] The Catalogue has it, *avec un petit chien*, and it is remarkable that a similar difference between the French and English Catalogues is observable in another instance. See No. 145.

28. A Banquet; by the same.
29. A picture of an Italian Lady.
30. The picture of the Duke of Urbin.
31. The Fall of Phaeton; by Peter Perugino.
32. A Ceres in the night; by Adam Helshamer.[e]
33. The Anunciation; by the same.
34. A Landshcap, in a round frame; by the same.
35. A Judith; by the same.
36. A Christ, in short; a coppie after Caronagio.[f]
37. A picture of a Man; made by Palma.

PIECES OF S[R] PETER PAUL RUBENS, KN[T]. &c. MADE IN SPAINE, ITALIE, AND OTHER PLACES, AS WELL AFTER TITIAN AS OTHER GOOD M[RS].

38. The picture of Hippolitus.[g]
39. A boyes Face, with a black Capp.
40. A young man's Face.
41. A picture of a Venetian Gentleman.
42. A great Adam and Eve.
43. A Calisto.
44. An Acteon.
45. A Venus and Adonis.
46. An Europa.
47. A Venus and Cupid lyinge on a bed.[h]
48. Venus and Cupid lookeing in a glasse.

HERE FOLLOW PICTURES MADE BY THE SAYD S[R] PETER PAUL RUBENS AFTER TITIAN.

49. Charles the Fifte.
50. The Empresse Leonora, his wife.
51. The picture of the sayd Emperor and Empresse uppon y[e] same cloth.
52. The picture of the Emperor Ferdinand with a sword in his hand.
53. The picture of Duke d'Alua.
54. The picture of Duke John Frederick of Saxonie.
55. The picture of a Landgraef of Hessen.[i]
56. The picture of Isabell d'Este, Dutchesse of Mantoua.
57. Another of the same Dutchesse in black clothes.
58. The picture of Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara.

[e] His name is spelt variously: D'Argenville writes it, *Elshaimer;* Bryan and most others, *Elsheimer*, or *Elzheimer*. In the French Catalogue it is Elshamer.

[f] "Nostre Seigneur mort, copie après Coregio." Catalogue.

[g] "Le pourtrait du Cardinal Hippolito de Medicis." Catalogue.

[h] Michel says, "Venus et *Adonis* sur un lit."

[i] The Catalogue is more precise; it says expressly, that it is a portrait of *Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.*

59. The picture of Francisco Sforza, y^e^ 2^nd^ Duke of Milan.
60. The picture of And^a^ Gritti, Duke of Venice.
61. The picture of King Phillipp the Second, as big as y^e^ life.
62. The picture of James, Secretarie to the sayd Kinge.
63. The picture of the aforesayd King's Dwarfe.
64. The picture of a certayne Great Man with a hat.[k]
65, 66, 67, 68. Fower pictures of Venetian Courtesans.
69. The picture of a Bride.[l]
70. A Face, paynted after one of Tintoret.
71, 72, 73, 74, 75. Five peeces of the Workes of y^e^ Apostles, after Raphael.
76. Psyche, after Raphael.
77. A St. John's Head, after Raphael.
78. A Picture, after Raphael; done by Balthazar Castiglione.
79. Charles the Fifte with a helment; made by Van Tyke, after Titian.
80. A peice of the Works of the Apostles; made after Raphels.

HERE FOLLOW THE PEICES MADE BY THE LATE S^R^ PETER PAUL RUBENS.

81. A peice of Venus, w^th^ many Cupidds, taken out of Philostratus.
82. A peice of Bacchanalls, with Sheppards and Sheepherdesses dancinge and drunck; out of Philostratus, uppon cloth.
83. A peice of Naked Nimphes and Satyrs.
84. A peice of Marie, with S^t^. George and other S^ts^, in landschap [m]
85. A naked Andromeda bound to the rock, soe great as the life.[n]
86. A Magdalene as bigg as the life, upon bord.
87. Beersheba sittinge by the fountayne.
88. Three Nymphes with Satyres.
89. A Switzer with his sweet-hart, w^th^ a bottle, w^th^ a satyre; not full made, uppon cloth.[o]
90. A Switzer, where the Boores bringe him money and cover a table.
91. A Bacchus.[p]
92. The three Graces naked.
93. S^ta^ Cecillia.

[k] *Avec un chien.* Catalogue.

[l] According to the Catalogue, the whole of these pictures, from No. 58 to No. 69 inclusive, are copies from Titian.

[m] This picture the artist's widow presented to the Church of St. Jacques, at Antwerp, to adorn the chapel of the tomb of her husband. The following number is now in the Marlborough Collection.—*Smith.*

[n] By the Catalogue it appears that the expression, "*soe great as the life,*" in this and the following number, is intended to imply that the figures are whole length.

[o] The Catalogue expressly says that this is upon wood, not cloth; and it explains that, by *not full made* is to be understood, that the picture was left incomplete.—With regard to the following article, its description is far more satisfactory: "Une troupe de Suisses qui contraignent les paysans de leur donner de l'argent et couvrir la table sur toile." This, in Smith's Catalogue, is called, *A Troop of Banditti pillaging Peasants.*

[p] With a glass in his hand. Catalogue.

94. A Sheepheard wth a Sheepheardesse.
95. The picture of Phillipp the Good in armo^{r}.
96. The picture of Charles the Bold in armour.
97. The picture of the Earle of Arundell, uppon cloth.
98. The picture of Marquis Spinola.
99. A Susanna, uppon bord.
100. The picture of Doctor Maierna.
101. The picture of the Infant Cardinal.
102. The picture of a Woman, with a black Capp, and flowers in her hands.
103. A peice of Italian Boores dancinge, uppon bord.
104. A Tiltinge, in Landschap.
105. A peice, an Italian Landschap, wth the ruines of a Church, which is cloth pasted uppon a bord.
106. A Landschap, uppon cloth, pasted on a bord.
107. The picture of Charles the Bold, upon bord.
108. A Wood, with a Huntinge, wth the Sun riseinge, uppon bord.
109. A picture, after one on Leonardo de Vina's, uppon cloth.[q]
110. A Landschap, uppon cloth, pasted uppon a bord.
111. The picture of a French Lady, uppon bord.
112. A Landschap, wth sheepe, uppon borde.
113. The picture of the Infant Cardinall, in his card^{ls} clothes.
114. The picture of the nowe Empresse.
115. The picture of the Kinge of Spayne, uppon cloth.
116. The picture of the Queene of Spayne.
117. The picture of the Duke of Nubourgh.
118. Argus.
119. A Sacrifice, uppon cloth, after Adam Helshamar.[r]
120. The picture of the Queene of France.
121. A peice where Angellica sleepes with a Hermit.
122. The picture of a Woman with her hands one uppon another.[s]
123. The picture of the King of Spayne with a hatt on.
124. An English Whore, uppon cloth.
125. An old Woman, with a Boy; a night piece.
126. The picture of a Certayne Lady.
127. The picture of the Duke of Buckingham.
128. The picture of an Old Man with a White Beard, uppon bord.
129. The picture of a Man in Armour, with a red scarfe.
130. The picture of a Certayne Lady with a capp on her head.
131. A great peice, beinge a Wood made after the naturall, wherein is the huntinge of Atalanta in small figures.
132. A Landschap after the naturall, wherein is the Escuriall in little.
133, 134. Two great Landschaps after the naturall.

[q] The Catalogue has this, *Leonardo de Vinci*, which is clearly right; and, in No. 117, it is equally correct in designating the picture as a portrait of the Duke of Nieubourgh. Mr. Smith, more explicit, says that No. 109 is *a portrait of Lionardo de Vinci*.

[r] See note to No. 32.

[s] "This picture is the celebrated *Chapeau de Paille*, now in the possession of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel."—*Smith*.

135. A great Landschap after the life, w^th^ little figures in't uppon a bord.
136. A great Landschap where it raines, with little Cowes in it.
137. A great Landschap, with a Tempest, beinge the Historie of Baucis and Philemon.
138. A peice of Emaus, with the sunne setting.[t]
139. A peice of Romulus and Remus, uppon cloth.
140. The picture of a Man cloth'd like a Turke, uppon cloth.
141. A piece of the Mayde that gave her Father suck in the Prison.
142. A piece of Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres.
143. A peice of Boores Fightinge, made after a draught of old Breugel.
144. A peice wherein is a Christ crucyfied.
145. A picture of a Woman dressed in the Dutch fashion, with a little hatt in her hand, uppon borde.[u]
146. The picture of the Arch-duke Maximilian.
147. A drunken Bacchus.
148, 149. Two pictures of Kings of Tunis, made after Antonio: More's.
150. A great Landschap, uppon cloth, pasted uppon bord.
151, 152. Two pictures of the Arch-duke Albertus and Isabella.
153. A peice wherein is a Boore and a Boorinne, with beast and fruite; made by Paulus de Vos.
154. A great Huntinge of Harts; paynted over by him, and w^th^ figures of him.
155. A St. George on horseback, uppon cloth.
156. A peice, upon bord, called the Christian Kn^t^.
157. A druncken Hercules, uppon bord.
158. A peice of St. Peter and St. Paul, uppon cloth.
159. A peice of Pucelle d'Orleans, uppon cloth.
160. A great peice of Magdalene, uppon cloth, and pasted uppon bord.[v]
161. A peice of Susanna, uppon cloth.
162. A peice of Susanna, uppon cloth, pasted uppon bord.
163. A peice of the Huntinge of Atlanta and Meleager.
164. A peice with some Nymphes w^th^ a Cornucopia.
165. A peice of Three Kings.
166. The picture of y^e^ Queene Mother of France, uppon cloth.
167. The picture of the Queene of France.
168. A great peice of Pythagoras, w^th^ y^e^ fruite of Francy Snyders.
169. A peice of the Prodigall Sonne, with a stable.
170. Druncken Sylenus.[w]
171, 172. Two little Landschaps, uppon bord.
173. A Night, uppon bord.
174. A peice of a Nymph and a Satyre w^th^ a baskett of grapes.[x]

[t] More happily described in the Catalogue as *Nostre Seigneur en Emaus.*

[u] See note to No. 24.

[v] I apprehend that this description is inaccurate, for the Catalogue says that it is *une grande piece des pecheurs* repentis.

[w] With Satyrs and other figures. Catalogue.

[x] To this succeeds in the Catalogue, without any number, "Une Didon qui se tue;" and the same picture is also introduced by Michel. In the following article there is a curious difference between the French Catalogue and this list; for instead of *a Son of Albert Durer,* it is there called *un renard d'Albert Durer.* Michel has it *un renard par Michel Durer.*

HERE FOLLOW THE PEICES OF THE OLD M^RS.

175. A Son of Albert Durer.
176. A David comeinge into Jerusalem w^th the head of Golias; by Lucas van Leyden.
177. The picture of Erasmus Roterdamus; by the same M^r.
178. A peice of Paulus Eremita, w^th a S^t Anthonie; by the same.
179. 180. Two pictures of a Man and a Woman; by John van Eyck.
181. The picture of Zaulingbeda;[y] by Mr. Huges.
182. The great Commander Don Gonzales de Cordova.
183. A picture of Holbeen.
184. A picture in water coulo^rs; by Holbeen.
185. A little picture in water coulo^rs.
186. A picture of a Certayne Jeweller; by Quintin.
187. The picture of a Man with a red Capp; by Browsen.[z]
188. The picture of a Man with a black Capp; by W^m Key.
189. The Birth of Christ; by Arthur van Leyden.
190. A Marie in landschap; by Henry Blos.
191. A Landschap w^th the Flight into Egipt; by old Brugel.
192. The Hill of S^t Gottard; by old Brugel.
193. The Death Bed of o^r Lady: black and white; by old Brugel.
194. A Baudy Howse; by Arthur van Leyden.
195. 196. Two faces in round; by old Brugel.
197. A * * * * ; by the same, in round.[a]
198. A face of a Beggar, in round; by the same.
199. The picture of a Man; by the same.
200. The picture of a Man with a great nose; by Hemsen.
201. The picture of the Card^l de Granuelle; by Scorre.
202. A picture of Antonio More's.
203. Another picture of the Card^l de Granuelle's.
204. A S^t Cicilie; by Michaell Cox.
205. A landschap with a S^t Hubert; by Arthur the Hollander.
206. A little peice wherein Justice is done by Wachelen.
207. A takinge off from the Crosse.
208. A little peice of the takinge off the Crosse; by Scorre.
209. The picture of a Man; made by some good old M^r.
210. The Temptation of Christ, in water coulo^rs; by old Brugell.
211. Shipps, in water coulo^rs; by the same.
212. A Battle betwixt the Turke and Christian, in water coulo^rs; by the same.
213. A Landschap with a fyre, in water coulo^rs; by the same.
214, 215. Two pictures of a Man and a Woman; by Francys Floris, uppon bord.

[y] An English reader would hardly imagine that Zaulingbeda was meant to express *the Venerable Bede.*

[z] *Bronzino.*—Catalogue. So also, in No. 190, the Catalogue has it correctly, *Henry Bles*, instead of *Blos.* In Michel's Catalogue, *the red-capped man* is assigned to W^m. Key, and *the black-capped* to Bronzino.

[a] Un balayeur.—*Michel.*

216. The picture, by Phillipp van Cleve, Lord of Ravestein, uppon a bord.
217. The picture of a Prebend, uppon bord.
218. The picture of a Preist, uppon bord; by Floris.
219. An Epitath with two doores; by Arthur van Leyden.
220. A Landschap; by the same, uppon bord.
221. An Emaus; by the Foolish elef, uppon bord.[b]
222. The Judgment of Paris; by the same, uppon bord.
223. A water colour'd cloth; by William Tonsi.[c]
224. A picture; by W^m Key, uppon bord.
225. A picture; by Joos van Cleue, uppon a bord.
226. A Bawdy Howse; by Martin van Cleue.
227. A Banquet of the Gods; by Bernard Rycke.

HERE FOLLOW THE PEICES OF THE MODERN M^RS.

228. A naked Venus, w^th a Satyre; by Van Dyke, uppon cloth.[d]
229. A S^t Jerome, w^th an Angell; by the same, uppon cloth.
230. A great S^t Jerome kneelinge; by the same, uppon cloth.
231. A small kneelinge Jerome; by the same, uppon cloth.
232. The Apprehendinge of Christ; by the same, uppon cloth.[e]
233. S^t Ambrose; by the same, uppon cloth.
234. S^t Martyn; by the same, uppon cloth.
235. The Crowninge of Christ; by the same.
236. A face, uppon a bord; representinge S^t George.
237. A face, uppon a bord; the Man in Armour.
238. A water coloured cloth; by William Tonsi.[f]
239. A Baskett with fruite, and birds; by Francys Snyders.

[b] This and the preceding No. are reversed in the Catalogue: the latter is called by Michel, *Le Chateau d'Emaus, par Van Cleef le fol.*

[c] *Une piece en destrempe, de Willem Tons.* Catalogue.

[d] Described in the Catalogue, and most probably with more truth, as *the story of Antiope and Jupiter transformed into a Satyr.*

[e] The following note is attached to this article by Michel:—"The picturesque tradition cherished as a truth by the painters and connoisseurs of Antwerp assures us that this same 'Apprehendinge of Christ' is the identical gift that Anthony Van Dyck presented to Rubens, when that pupil took leave of his master before his departure for Italy, in remembrance of the courtesy which Rubens had shown to him in his studio; and, in the second place, in testimony of the high sense of his gratitude for the saddle-horse which Rubens had presented to him for his intended journey. The tradition also relates, that this picture is now to be found in the apartments of Mons. Dierixsens, at Antwerp. The picture is high, and the figures are the natural size; the heads, as those of Christ and some soldiers, are strikingly beautiful, the colouring vigorous, and the drapery free without being affected. It is only by the figure of Malchus, who, with his lanthorn, is thrown down in the foreground of the picture, that this picture can be perceived to have been painted immediately after the artist had left the school of his master; but the execution of the other figures was already an evidence to what perfection Van Dyck would bring his art on his return from Italy, and which events subsequently showed." [*From the French.*]—*Michel, Hist. de Rubens*, pp. 284-5.

[f] See note to No. 223.

240. A Battayle of Sebastian, Kinge of Portugall; by Sebastian Vrank.
241. The Prodigall Sonne; by Symon de Vos.
242. A cloth, with birds; by Alexander Adriansen.
243. A Basket of Fruite; by the same.
244. A Landschap; by Wildens.
245. A Flower Pot; by Ikens, uppon bord.
246. A Baskett and Glasse, with flowers; by the same.
247. A Flower Pott; by the same.
448. A peice like the Alter Peice in the queere of S[t] Augustine's church; made by the late S[r] Peter Rubens.[g]
249. A Garland of Flowers, with Marie in't; by the same, uppon cloth.
250. A Cornucopia of Fruite and a Flower Pott; uppon cloth.[h]
251. Another Cornucopia, uppon cloth; by the same.
252, 253. Two clothes paynted with landschaps; by Peter Snayers.
254. A little Landschap, uppon a bord.
255. A small peice of Sebastian Vrank, where the blinde leads the blinde, uppon bord.
256. A night peice; by Peter Snayers, uppon bord.
257. A Landschap of Mompers, with beasts of Brugel, uppon bord.
258. A Kitchen, with a Catt fightinge; by Paulus de Vos, on cloth.
259. A peice of Birds singinge; by the same, uppon cloth.
260. The Huntinge of a great Wilde Bore; by Francys Snyders.
261. A Flower Pott; by the same.
262. A cloth, with Fruite and Birds; by Paulus de Vos.
263. A bord, where Fruite lyes uppon the earth; by Fran. Snyders.
264. A bord, with Cabbages and Turnipps; by the same.
265. A Polyphemus and Ulisses, uppon cloth; by Jaques Jordaens.
266. The Birth of Christ; by the same.
267. A Marie, uppon bord; by the same.
268. A cloth, uppon w[ch] a Cornucopia w[th] Flowers; by Peter Zegers.[i]
269. A Huntinge of Diana: the figures of S[r] Peter Rubens; the landschaps and the beasts of Brugel.
270. A Huntinge of Diana; by S[r] Peter Rubens & Brugel.
271. A Paradise; by Brugel.
272. A Fightinge, where they pull one the other by the hayre.
273. An Alehowse, where they sitt by the fire.
274. A risinge of the Sunne.
275. The Clownes musick.
276. A jealous Boore.
277. A Battle, where they pull another by the throate.
278. A Landschap.
279. A Combatt of Three, where they strike with the pott.
280. A Temptation of S[t] Anthony.
281. The Musicke of Boores by the fire.

[g] Described by Smith as "*The Marriage of St. Catharine in the presence of numerous Saints: a sketch for the picture in the Church of St. Augustin.*"

[h] This and the following are said by the Catalogue to be by Ykens.

[i] This is evidently an error, and the artist intended is Daniel Seghers, the Jesuit. In the Catalogue this picture is said to be by *Père Segers*, which probably gave rise to the mistake.

282. A Lutenist.
283. A Dancinge in a landschap.
284. A Boore, with a glasse of wyne and a pott.
285. Tobacco Drinkers.[k]
286. A Landschap, wherein a Man tyes his shoes.
287. Two Boores that peepe through a Windowe.
288. A Man fillinge drinke.

These 17 are of Brewer.

289, 290. Two Battailes; by Palmedes, uppon bord.
291. A Landschap; by Poulenbeargh.
292. Another Landschap; by the same.
293. S[t] Anthonie's Temptation; by Saeghtleuen.
294. A Landschap, w[th] Beasts and Boore's houshold stuffe; by y[e] same, with little figures of S[r] Peter Rubens.
295. A Boore's howse within; by the same, with little postures of S[r] Peter Rubens.
296. A Heard of Beasts; by the same Saeghtleuen.
297. A peice, by the same, where a Woman is chid; the figures by S[r] Peter Rubens.[l]
298. Another peice, by the same, where a Mayde stands uppon the stayres; the postures by S[r] Peter Rubens.
299. Another, where a Boore gives his dogg meat.
300. A Landschap; by the same.
301. A very little Landschapp.
302. A Tyn Pott; by Vande Vuyl, uppon cloth.
303. A Tyn Pott, with a man and a broad silver bowle, uppon a bord; by the same.
304. Another piece, with a broad Bowle and three Trenchers.
305, 306. Two pieces, by Heda, with Plate and Glasses and Lemons, uppon bord.
307. A little Sea, uppon cloth; by Persellis.
308. A Landschap of Vlegers, uppon bord.
309, 310. Two Shipps, uppon bord; by Goyes.[m]
311. A small peice, with a Glasse and two peeces of Gamon of Bacon; by Van Es.
312. A Banquett; by the same, uppon bord.
313. One lookeinge of Lice, uppon bord.
314. A Schoole; by Hagi.

HERE FOLLOW VARIOUS ARTICLES OF CURIOSITY.

Three cloathes pasted uppon bord, beinge the Triumph of Julius Cesar, after Andrew Mantegna; not full made.

Six great clothes, y[e] beseiginge of Townes, Battailes, and Triumphs of Henry the 4th, y[e] French Kinge; not full made; which he had begunn some yeares past for the pallace of the Queene Mother of France.

[k] Rather more intelligibly expressed in the Catalogue, "*Quelques uns qui prennent du tabacq.*"

[l] "*Ou une femme est baisée.*" Catalogue. Smith says more at length, "*A Landscape, in which are introduced a couple courting: the man has a bagpipe attached to his girdle.*"

[m] "*By Vlegens.*" Catalogue. So, also, in No. 314, for *Hagi* is read *Hals.*

A parcell of Faces made after the life, uppon bord and cloth, as well by S^r^ Peter Rubens as Van Dyke.

A great parcell of draughts, of many fayre notable peeices; made by Afflymghen.[n]

A parcell of coppies; made after the peices of Afflimghen.

Certayne rare and well made antique faces of marble.

A parcell of modern figures, &c.

Christ uppon the Crosse; very costly made of Iuorie, the invention of S^r^ Peter Rubens.

Mercury; very costly made, y^e^ invention of S^r^ Peter Rubens.

Venus pullinge her Smock over her Head; very rarely made, the invention of S^r^ Peter Rubens.

A Sea Triumph, of ivory, with Nymphes and Tritons and Angells above, holdinge a horne of small sea shells and pearle, uppon which there is a silver scollop shell, and under a round silver and gilte foote; all wonderfull costly made; all the invention of S^r^ Peter Rubens, and serves for a salte celler.

A Dance of Children, of ivory; wonderfull rarely made, the invention of the same S^r^ Peter Rubens.

Psyche sleepinge with Cupid upon a bed of Ivorye; the invention of S^r^ Peter Rubens.[o]

Adam and Eve, of ivory.

A very rare Salte Celler, of aggatt.

A very fayre Vessell of orientaljasper and christall, of Montaigne.

[n] The Catalogue is here far more satisfactory. It says, "*Une très grande quantité des desseins des plus notables pièces, faictes par feu Mons. Rubens.*" And it equally differs as to the following article, which it designates as "*Une quantité des copies, faictes après les originaux, de feu Mons. Rubens.*"

[o] According to Michel, the Cupid and Psyche were of ivory, but the bed of tortoise-shell.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

Original Letters of Rubens.

Translations will be found, in the preceding part of this Volume, in order of date.

I. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO FRANCIS SWERT.

Caris:[E] et amicis:[E] D. Swerti : [*Antwerp, Feb.* 1617-8.]

Isidem E. V. Camdeni, ut verum fatear, non plane perspexi, neque et imagine tam rudi (ignoscat artifex) eruere potui probabilem conjecturam ; nam de juvenca, nisi hæc niteretur fide D. Camdeni, ego quidvis aliud suspicarer, cum figura, proportio, gestus et situs mirum in modum repugnent hujus animalis naturæ proprietatibus. Apis sane qui semper fere in marmoribus antiquis, quotquot ego observavi, aut Isidis aut ipsius Ægypti latus claudit ; justa bovis fere adulti effingitur statura ; latus illi denique sua peculiari nota lunæ plusquam semiplenæ conspicuum, cornua item habet et cætera bovi congrua. Vaccam autem quæ puella unquam catelli vice in deliciis habuit, et gremio suo toleravit ? Vittæ etiam et teniæ Isidi valde familiari imo individuæ comites hic prorsus nullæ ; sed illam sine sistro pictam aut fictam, ni fallor, vidit nemo, nempe quod proprium ejus sit insigne.

Sed nè nihil dicam, cum nihil tamen certi in re tam obscura affirmare ausim, si vitula istud animal est, ego suspicarer de quodam voto pro frugibus juxta illud v[ulgi] ;[1] " cum vitula facies pro frugibus suscepto : " hoc suadet patera frugifera et vas potorium in altera manu, ab urnis fluviorum quantitate et forma omnino dispar ; [urnæ siquidem grandes et depressiore alveo] bibebant autem in sacris ut Lanfera ;[?] corona etiam sacrificiis propria sive florida sive herbacea vel aurea vel alius materiei, ut multis exemplis doceri potest. Hoc habe pro re nihil, sed pro negociis meis abunde, quæ alio me avocant : amicis Domine. Cæterum questionem Isiacam peritioribus integram et illibatam relinquimus. Vale, et me ætatim ama.

Ex asse tuus,
Petrus Paullus Rubenius.[1a]

[1] This word is imperfect in the original, but is supplied from a printed copy of the letter in " Gulielmi Camdeni et Illustrium virorum ad Camdenum Epistolæ." 4to. Lond. 1691, p. 369.

[1a] Emile Gachet, in a note to " Lettres inédites de Rubens," p. lxiii, says :—Rubens appears to us to have liked Italian the most, to prove which see the numerous letters he has written in that language, and his signature, in Italian, to letters written even in the Flemish language. Rubens *always* signed Pietro Paulo Rubens, and we do not know of his signature either in Flemish or French. We have it here in Latin, Petrus Paullus Rubenius. His Letter No. XXIV., in Flemish, is signed, P. P. Rubens *only* ; his letter No. XI., in French, P. Rubens *only* ; and in his signature to Letter No. XXVIII , in French, the first *o* is omitted in his second name, Paulo.

II. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

Eccellentiss. Sig^{R}:

Non mi sono ingannato di un punto credendo V. E. esser quella sola, che possa colla sua destrezza condur ad effetto li negocii altri^{te} impossibili. Certo che fu opportuna la caccia di tanti animali formidabili ch'ella diede à quei Sig^{ri} si come ancora la pescagione delli apostoli che da vero sono riusciti per noi piscatores hominum. Come V. E. argutamente mi accenna ne mi par strano porche tutte le cose sono di maggior efficazia sotto il suo proprio clima. In effetto senza questi mezzi s'otteneva niente, benche la raggione allegata delli Sig^{r} Stati ch'io non fossi lor suddito ne residente nelli lor stati non è di tal consideratione chaltri Principi o Republiq L'habbiano giamai allegata parendo loro giusto di provedere che li loro sudditi non facciano torto o' danno ad altra persona, con invasione delle altrui fatiche. Oltra chè tutti li potentatí ben che dissidenti tra di loro in maggior cose sogliono esser d'accordo nel favorire e protegere le virtu scientie et artî, almeno il doverebbono fare. La specificatione della mia pretensione ho mandato a quel amico che ne dara a V. E. puntualissima relatione. Fra tanto supplico V. E. sia servita di tener la mano a l'impresa sin alla sua intiera perfettione. Et per fine li baccio le mani con mille ringraziamenti por la stima e grande affetto ch'ella dimostra verso di mé che certo desiderarei di esser di qualque valore per poter servire V. E. con maggior gusto suo è mio di Anversa alli 28 di Maggio 1619.

di vostra Eccellenza,
humillissimo servitore,
Pietro Paulo Rubens.

Sole accader spesso nelle congregationi de molti ch'essendosi resi' favorevoli uno ad uno molti di quelli Sig^{ri} nulladimeno riuniti poi tutti insieme facessero tutto il contrario delle loro promesse particolari, perçio supplico V. E. sia servita di considerar bene colla solita sua prudenza se la nostra pretensione non corra pericolo d'intoppar di novo nella medesima repulsa, et se potesse presagire tal cosa ancor che ambuigamente la prego di rompere subito la prattica, senza far altra instanza non già perchio sia mutato di pensiero ne chio stimassi poco d'ottener questa gratia, mà por altri gran rispetti non mi conviene d'esser importuno a sollicitarla. Et di novo baccio a V. E. li mani.

III. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

M. 26 *Jan.* 1621.

La peinture faitte pour Monsieur l'Amb^{r} Carleton, est toute preste, et tres bien accommodée dedans une casse de bois suffisante pour faire le voyage d'Ang^{re}.. Aussy je la livreray entre les mains de M. Corham sans aucune difficulté, toutesfois quil luy plaira de la prendre, ou d'envoyer pour icelle son moindre garçon. Mais de desdire ce que j'ay dit, a Mess^{rs} nos Juges, a sçavoir que la peinture ne vaut pas autant, ce n'est pas ma façon de faire ; car si j'eusse fait tout l'ouvrage de ma main propre, elle vaudroit bien le double, aussy n'est elle pas amendée legerem^{t} de ma main, mais touchée

et retouchée par tout esgallem^{t}. Je conformeray bien le mesme que j'ay dit, que nonobstant que la peinture estoit de cette valeur, que pour les obligations que j'ay a Mons^{r} l'Amb^{r} que je me contenteroy de telle recompense que bonne et juste semblerat a Son Ex^{ce} sans aucune replique. Je ne sçauroye dire davantage ne me submettre plus amplem^{t} au bon plaisir de ce personnage que j'estime beaucoup plus que personne me sçauroit croire. Le tableau de Bassan, lequel j'avoy en eschange, est tellem^{t} gasté, que tel qu'il est, je le vendray a tous venans pour quinze escus.

Transcripte de l'originale par
W. Trumbull.

IV. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

Monsieur:

Je suis tres content que la piece faite pour Monsieur l'Ambass^{r} Carleton me soit rendue et de faire une autre chasse moins terrible que celle des Lyons, rabattant au prix le payement dicelle comme est de raison, toute de ma main propre, sans aucune meslange de l'ouvrage d'autruy ce que je vous maintiendray en foy d'homme de bien. Il me deplaist aussy qu'il y aura pour ceste affaire quelque mescontentem^{t} de la part de Mon^{r} Carleton, mais il ne s'est laissé jamais entendre clairem^{t} toutes les foix que je luy ay fait instance de vouloir declarer si ceste piece devoit estre un vray Originel entierem^{t}, ou seulem^{t} touchée de ma main. Je voudrois avoir occasion de le remettre en bonne humeur envers moy, encore quil me debvroit couster quelque payne pour lui rendre service. Je seray bien ayse que ceste piece soit colloqué en un lieu si eminent comme la gallere de S. A. Mons^{r} le Prince de Galles et feray tout mon extreme debvoir afin de la rendre superieure d'artifice a celle d'*Holofernes laquelle jay fait en ma jeunesse.* Jay quasi achevce une piece grande toute de ma main et de meilleures, selon mon opinion, representant une chasse de Lyons, les figures aussy grandes commes le naturel, ordonnée par Mons^{r} l'Ambas^{r} Dygbye, pour presenter, comme jay entendu, a Mons^{r} le Marquis de Hamilton. Mais, comme vous dites tres bien, telles choses ont plus de grace et vehemence en un grand tableau qu'un petit. Je voudroy bien que ceste peinture po^{r} la Gallere de Monseig^{r} le Prince de Galles fust de proportion plus grande, pour ce que la capacite du tableau nous rend beaucoup plus de courage po^{r} expliquer bien et vray semblablem^{t} nostre concept. Toutefois je suis prest en toutes les facons de m'employer a vre service et me recommandant humblem^{t} à vre bonne grace me profferay tousjours.

Quant à Sa Majesté et son A. Mons^{r} le Prince de Galles, je seray tousjours bien ayse de reçevoir l'honneur de leurs commandemens, et touchant la sale au nouveau Palays je confesse d'estre, par un instinct naturel, plus propre a faire des ouvrages bien grandes que des petites curiositéz. Chacun a sa grace ; mon talent est tel, que jamais entreprise encore quelle fust desmesurée en quantité et diversité de suggets a surmenté mon courage.

Mons^{r},
Vostre tres humble Servit^{r},
Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

D'Anvers ce 13 *Sep*^{re} 1621 *St. No.*

V. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO BALTHAZAR GERBIER.

[? *February*, 1627.]

Son Alte^ze^ a veu la proposition de Monseig^r^ le Duc de Buckingham et dit, que quant aux difficultez entre l'Empereur et le Roy de Dennemarq, qu'il y at quelque temps quelle a commencée a s'emploier pour les mettre d'accord, et fera les offices possibles pour y parvenir, mais comme le succes est incertain, mesmes quil y pouroist aussy aveoir rencontré des difficultez au regard des Estats des Provinces Confederées, seroit bien que mon dit Seig^r^ de Buckingham desclarast si le Roy de la Grande Bretagne vousdroit traicter en ce cas au regard seulement de ces Couronnes : affin que son Alteze en estant esclaircie en puisse faire part à Sa Maj. Catholique dont, appres aiant receu response, en faire advertir le dit Seigneur Duc et partant trouve convenable que le S^r^ Gerbier retournant en Engleterre, nous en raportte la Resolution.

Rubens.

VI. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Monseigneur : 21 *April*, 1627.

Par celle quil vous a pleu mescrire le 9^e^ de Mars dernier ay receu lentiere asseurance de la bienveillance de V. Exc. envers moy laquelle je tascheray pouvoir meriter aux ocasions quy vous seront agreables et plairer menployer pour vostre Serenis:^e^ vous suppliant, tres humblem^t^, mexcuser si j'ay differé tant de jours de respondre sur l'affaire que vos^re^ Excel. scait, esperant tousjours quelques nouvelles d'Espaigne : mais comme elles tardent tant je nay voulu laisser de ladvertir de la reception de la ditte lettre et vous baiser les mains par la faveur quil vous a pleu me faire. Si tost que la response viendra de Sa Maj^e^ Catholique Jen advertiray Vos^re^ Excel : desirant, autant que je dois, de veoir la perfection de ce beau chef d'Œuvre. Cependant avecque toute submission et tres humble reverence je me recommande aux bonnes graces de vos^re^ Exc : resolu de vivre et mourir en qualité.

Monseigneur.

Rubens.

VII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Monsieur : 21 *Avrill*, 1627.

J'ay differé de respondre à vos^re^ premiere du 9 de Mars passé, selon vostre stille, esperant que Son Al : auroit eu quelque advis sur ce quelle avoit escript sur la premiere proposition. Mais puis que cela tarde, je n'ay voulu differer d'acuser la reception de la ditte vos^re^ avecq les escripts y joincts et que l'on a despeché Courier à Sa Maj^e^ Catholique, l'advertissant du contenu, le priant de vouloir respondre incontinent comme je m'asseure elle fera, dont vous advertiray par la voye que vous m'avez escript. Priant Dieu que cest affaire puisse prendre la fin que se peut desirer pour le bien de la

Chrestienté et n'ayant a vous dire autre chose pour ceste fois, je vous baise les mains de tout mon Cœur demeurant à jamais.

Mons^{r}.
Rubens.

VIII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Monsieur:

Vñe silence m'estonne et me met en doubte si nos pacquets sont bien addressez ou non. Il est necessaire, en une correspondence de telle importance, d'accuser tousjours la reception des lñes, car succedant quelque disgrace on y remedieroit avec les duplicats. Vous verrez, par l'enclose de l'Amb^{r} de Savoye, que nous avons este ensemble a Bruxelles, et de ma part je confesse d'avoir reçeu tout le contentem^{t} du monde. L'Amb^{r} de Savoye faict ses complimens avec l'Infante et Spinola. Il ne voulut toucher au mistere que par mon moyen & l'ayant trouvé si bien informé, coñe nous mesmes, on a *trouvé bon de traicter avec luy sincerement & sans aucune reserve ou arriere pensée.* Je l'ay informé, par ordre expres de Spignola, très exactement de l'estat pñt de l'affaire & asseuré tout entierem^{t} des bonnes et sainctes intentions de nñe costé. Aussy je vous puis dire que nous avons eu quelque chose de part de 70 [Spain ?] qui nous donne du courage & faict esperer bien du succez de l'affaire : mais cela ne suffit pas po^{r} la mettre en execution. Nous croyons que, par la grace divine, le reste suivra bien tost. Je suis retourné en Anvers ayant degrossé l'affaire & mis Scaglia et Spignola si pres l'un de l'autre qu'ils traictent de bouche a bouche sur la matiere : toutesfois ils m'ont faict tousjours l'honneur, y ayant quelque doubte, ou ambiguité, ou scrupule, de se servir de mon message pour l'esclaircir des deux costez. A ceste heure je pense qu'il n'y reste aucune difficulté entre eux & qu'ils s'entendent fort bien & recoyvent très bon contentem^{t} l'un de l'autre, sans aucune desfiance. Certes nous trouvons Scaglia capable grandem^{t} d'affaires de telle importance & je suis bien aise qu'il a pris la resolution d'aller en Hollande car tout le debat sera comme j'ay dit a Scaglia & a vous *aussy souventesfois sur la pretension des Estasts d'avoir le nom de ce qu'ils ont en effect. Scaglia* m'a dit qu'il pense que vous le viendrez trouver en ce quartier la. Je m'estimerois bien heureux de vous y pouvoir rencontrer, mais je croy que mes maistres ne m'oseroyent envoyer de leur propre mouvem^{t}: du reste je suis d'opinion que ma presence serviroit grandem^{t} à la promotion de l'affaire, po^{r} esclaircir entre nous les difficultez debattues autrefois ; car, ayant *esté employé en ce traicté continuellem^{t} depuis la rupture, je me trouve encor tous les papiers presentez d'une part & d'autre en main.* Nous pourrions consulter ensemble avec Scaglia et Carleton. C'est pourquoy je vous prie de trouver moyen que cela se face a requisition de Buckingham m'escrivant une lettre a cest effect disant qu'il vous envoye cette part, vous enchargeant de beaucoup de choses qui ne se peuvent seurem^{t} ny aisem^{t} fier a papier. Et qu'il ne vous ose renvoyer de nouveau a Brusselles pour ce que cela causeroit trop de bruict coñe il fit l'autre fois, que pourtant S. E. desire que je me transporte avec permission de mes superieurs en ce quartier la, p^{r} o^{r} vous y rencontrer en la bonne conjuncture que Carleton & Scaglia sy trouveront. Ce seroit un grand coup ; car, coñe

je vous ay dit, toute la difficulté qui pourroit empescher, ou po^r^ le moins rendre imparfait ce beau chef *d'œuvre consiste en l'affaire des Estats. J'ay la des amis qui sont en grand dignité & mes vieulx correspondents* qui ne manqueront a leur debvoir. Je vous prie y tenir la main mais soubs condition d'une foy inviolable de tenir secrette ceste mienne requeste sans qu'on sache jamais que cela se face par mon instruction. Scaglia sera après demain en ceste ville & nous avons envoyé une sienne lettre po^r^ un passeport des Estasts, lequel je suis bien asseuré sera de mon advis touchant ma venue, encor que je ne me suis encor descouvert avec luy reservant le secret de ceste lr̃e a vous seul pour la coñuniquer avec Buckingham ; mais il me faudroit par le mesme moyen po^r^ le moins par Carleton ou Scaglia impetrer aussi tost un passeport. Je vous prie me vouloir respondre incontinent aussy sur les particularitez desja escrites tant de fois touchant le reste des peintures appartenantes a Buckingham lesquelles je n'ose envoyer sans vr̃e ordre, voyant le passage si embrouillé & dangereux que je ne l'oscroys entreprendre sans vr̃e ordre exprès. Et n'ayant autre chose je vous baise bien humblement les mains & me recoñande à vos bonnes graces demeurant a jamais,

Monsieur,

V^re^ plus humble serviteur,

[Pietro Pauolo Rubens.]

D'Anvers, ce 19^me^ *de May,* 1627.

Je vous prie brusler ceste lr̃e aussy tost que vous vous en serez servi car elle me pourroit ruyner aupres de mes maistres encor qu'elle ne contient aucun mal : po^r^ le moins elle me gasteroit mon credit aupres d'eux & me rendroit inutile po^r^ l'advenir.

IX. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Monsieur :

J'ay communiqué vos^r^ lettre ou qu'il appartenoit et on m'a ordonné sur des raisons que trouverez justes et equitables de ne passer oultre de Zevenberghen pour ceste fois. Je vous prie vous y transporter incontinent et aussi tost que vous y serez arivé men donner avis par un expres, l'adressant a Breda au Cigne, ou que je me suis aresté attendant de vos nouvelles. Je ne manqueray à vous venir baiser les mains au mesme instant. Cependant vous suppliant me conserver en vos bonnes graces je vous baise les mains de tout mon Cœur demeurant à jamais,

Monsieur,

Rubens.

De Breda le 10 *Juillet,* 1627.

X. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [B GERBIER].

Monsieur :

Vous avez en apparence raison à vous plaindre de nous ; vous ayant entretenu si long temps loing de Monseig^r^ vostre Maistre et de Madamoiselle vostre Compaigne sur l'attente de la venue du Seig^r^ Don Diegho Messia, Mais il nous fault excuser puisque nous y allions de bonne foy et selon nostre croyance ne pouvant diviner les incidents survenus de paiz. Toutes-

foix il y a de nouvelles quil devoit partir le 22 de Paris, mais jusques asteur il ny a poinct de certitude quil soit parti per quelque avant Coureur come seroit de raison que com parust quelque jours avant son arrivement. Jay donne part à Monsieur le Marquis par vostre lettre mesme accompagnee dune mienne de vostre resolution pour retourner en Angleterre. Je ne manquerai de vous advertir de ce quil m'ordonnera à vous dire sur cela e nayant aultre chose pour ceste foix Je vous baise bien humblement les mains demeurant a jamais,

Monsieur,

Vostre plus humble Serv^t^

Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

D'Anvers ce 27 *d Aoust* 1627.

Il fauldroict donner ordre pour l'addres de nos lettres puis que le passage de Calais est serré come Mon Steltius m'at adverti. Jay license descrire et recevoir lettres d Ollande mais Jaime mieulx que cela se face sur le nom de Monsieur Arnoldo Lunden demeurant en Anvers.

XI. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Monsieur Gerbier :

Vostre lettre du 6 de ce Mois at esté venue et prise en bonne part, mais touchant la Responce que desires sur vostre Escriture du 9 de Mars, on trouve que demeurant de vostre part en la resolution contenue dens le dict escript qui est de vouloir embrasser tout en un comme vous m'avez reitteré l'on ne trouve que l'on puisse pour le present advancer l'affaire, par auqu'ne responce, *Par ce que la venue du Seigneur Don Diego Messia nous at esclaircy du concert des Roys d'Espaigne et de France pour la defence de leurs Royaumes.* Ce neantmoins la Sereu^me^ Infante ne change d'opinion ains est d'advis de continuer les mesmes offices pour leffect de ses bonnes intentions, ne desirant S. A. aultant chose en çe monde que le repos du Roy son Nepveu et une bonne Paix pour le bien publicque. Aussi Mons^r^ le Marquis y apportera pour sa part toute assistence et le devoir qu'il pourra pour le succes d'un si bon Œuvre, si de la part de l'Engleterre l'on faict le mesme, nostre correspondence se maintiendra en vigeur, et se donneront reçiproquement les avys necessaires aux occasions que s'offriront. Sur quoy attendant de vos nouvelles je me racommande en vos bonnes graces demeurant à jamais,

Monsieur,

Vostre bien humble et affectionné Serviteur,

P. Rubens.

Ce 18 *de Septembre* 1627.

XII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

[*On a Copy of this letter made by Gerbier, he has added, "Aultre lettre sur le mesme subject mais c'est comme en confidence."*]

Monsieur :

La responce que je vous envoye ici jointe est tout ce qu'on peut faire en ceste conjuncture. Elle est faicte par l'advis de la Serenis^me^ Infante et de Mons^r^ le Marquis, l'aiant faict veoir et approuver du Seign^r^ Don Diego

Messia, auquel ils ont baillé la copie avecq icelle des vostres du 6 de ce Mois pour les envoyer touts ensemble en Espaigne. J'ay esté depuis la recepte de vos lettres du 6, contiuuellem^t^ à Brusselles, aiant reçeu la derniere à mon retour du 10^e^ Septembre. J'ay traicté par ordre de mes Maistres franchement avecq le S Don Diego, et vous puis asseurer qu'ils sont bien maris de la resolution prise en Espagne nonobstant tous leurs deveoirs en contraire, aussi ne dissimulent ils nullement leur opignon et font paroistre leur perseverance en icelle non seulement au S^r^ Don Diego mais en Espagne mesme. *Nous croions que ces Ligues ne seront qu'un tonnere sans foudre que fera du Bruict en ayr sans effect, car cest un componement de divers humeurs ramassez contre leur nature et complexion en un seul corps plus par passion que par raison.* Touts les gens d'Esprit et bien affectionnés au bien publicque sont de nostre intention et sur tout S. Alt^sse^ et le Marquis. Le mesme S^r^ Don Diego m'a recommandé de maintenir nře correspondence en vigeur, disant que les affaires d'Estast sont sugettes à beaucoup d'inconveniens et quelles se changent facillement. Il s'est desabusé de plusieurs choses depuis son arrivement icy. Quant à moy je me trouve avecq un extresme regret pour ce mauvais succes, tout au rebours de nos bonnes intentions, mais j'ay ce repos en ma conscience de n'avoir manqué d'y apporter toutte sincerité et industrie pour en venir au bout, si Dieu n'en eust disposé aultrement. Je ne me puis aussi plaindre de mes Maistres, lesquels m'ont honnoré d'une estroicte comunication de leurs intimes intentions en affaires de telle importance. Je ne puis croire que ceux de vostre parti ayent occasion de se mocquer de nous, ou de nostre insuffisance, ou de se desfier de moy, puis que mes Maistres ne veullent abandonner laffaire ainsi persistent tousiours en la mesme intention sans auqune feinte ou surprise ne pouvant servir cest artifice a chose quelconque, puis qu'on ne pretend par ce moien de rafroidir ou tenir en suspect auqun effort ou exploict de guerre de vostre costé. Je prie Dieu nous emploier plus heureusem^t^ pour l'advenir en ceste et en aultres occasions et vous conserver en sa sainte protection & moy en vos bonnes graces, qui suis & seray toujours.

Mons^r^ V^re^ plus humble & aff^né^ serviteur,

ce 18 *de Sep^re^*, 1627. RUBENS.

XIII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

[*Antwerp*], $\frac{8}{18}$ *September*, 1627.

[*Gerbier has written on a copy of this letter in French, which he transmitted to Lord Carleton, "Troisième lettre qu'il m'escrit en flamang."*]

MONS^R^:

ICK bidde V. E. believe te ghelooven dat ick doen al wat ick can, ende dat ick vinde myne meesters seer gheappassioneert in de saecke, haer vindende ghepicqueert ende gheaffronteert van Olivares. Wiens passie prevaleert aen alle andere redenen ende consideratien, ghelick ick hebbe ghemerckt wt de woorden (al ist dat hy het soeckt te bedecken) van Don Diego selver ; het meeste deel vanden raedt van Spagnien was van onse opinie, maer dien cop heeft al naer synen sin ghedrongen. Dit syn plaeghen van Godt die

door alsulke middelen syn werck doet : daer woorden soo veele saecken aen Don Diego gheremonstreert dat hy beghent te bransleren, et se hailla embarrassado. Menheeft hem doen tasten met der handt de perfidie vande Francoisen, ende de secoursen die Coninck van Vranckrick dactelick geeft de staeten, ende gheerne soude gheven dat hy cost aen Danemarc, dat sy selver met onse simpliciteyt ghecken, ende soeken, maer met desen bietebau van het secours van Spagnien te dringen tot accort Engelant wilck ook daer op volgen sal ; dese proposten ende redenen heeft selver Rubens, door order van d'Infante ende Marquis die wils int lanck ende breedt aen Don Diego gheremonstreert, met groote hefticheyt ende liberteyt, ende oock niet sonder effect, maer de saecke is ghedaen, ende hy en can de orders van Spagnien niet veranderen. Ick en begheere V. E. onder pretext van vriendschap niet te bedrieghen, maer segge recht wt de warrheyt, hoe dat d'Infante ende Marquis gheresolveert syn ons tractaet te continueren, hebbende opinie dat de Concerten tuschen Vranckrick ende Spagnien gheen effect hebben en sullen, oft wt sonderlinck wtrechten oft oock met dueren enfullen, oock alle wyse lieden alhier soo geestelick als weertyck gecken ende lachen daermede. Toch soo lange als daer gheen proeve al ghedaen en is, en is gheen veranderinghe te verwachten, ende daer moet wat tyts toe wesen. Men hoopt dat Olivares sal dan eens syn ooghen open doen, ende moghelick beter coop gheven als het te sparde sal syn. Belieft V. E. daerentuschen de saecke met ons in staet te houden, ende Buckingham in goet humeur te houden ; het en can gheen achterdeel doen : wy en pretenderen daermede niet te beletten oft te retardeert eenich attentat van orloghe, soo datter gheen artificii onder en can scuylen, noch oock en soecken V. E. langher op te houden met ydel hope, veir van myn Heere synen meester, ende syne lievehuysvrawe, welck tot noch toe gheschiet is met goede intentie, ende apparente redenen : het sal wil syn dat wy meccanderen ondertuschen aviseren van 'tghene datter passeren sal, om de Princen wacker te houden ende het tractaet bevendich. Ick sende V. E. den inghesloten aen myn heere den Hertoch, tot V. E. decharge ende de myne. Ick en wete daer niet voorders in te doene ende sette my geruct in myne goede conscientie ende den wille Godts. In magnis voluisse sat est, Diis aliter visum est. Ick bidde V. E. believe myne ootmoedighe raccomandatie te doen aen myn heer Carleton, ende hem te versekeren van mynen dienst ende affectie, ende hier mede ghebiede ick my wt ganscher harten tot verwarts, blyvende voor altyts.

Myn heere,
V. E., &c.
RUBENS.

Ick hebbe nuterstont V. E. lesten van den 14 ontfanghen, ende sal dienen voor antwoordt dat ick sal prevaleren van V. E. avisen, daer se sullen wel gheimployeert wesen.

Van het Cabinet daer Ick V. E. al gheschreven hadde, en is niet van noodt meer te vermaenen, want ick gheen licentie en can cryghen om die wyse te doen, oock is die saecke wat verslapt, ende ist saecke dat se voort gaet ; soo mack ick de schilderyen voor myn reckening coopen.

De schilderyen van myn heere de hertoch syn alle gaeder ghereet ; het biste waer dat V. E. Mons^r le Blou die comissie gheeve, ende dat hy daerom expresselick in faute van ander occasie eens over quaeme. Ick salse hem

daetelick consigneren, ende hem assisteren om passagie te vercrygen van dese syde, maer daer moeste eenen breef van V. E. ghewont worden die sulk begheerd. Ick reccomandae V. E. myne pasport te platten lande.

XIV. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Monseign^{R} :

Sy je fusse sy heureux coñe bien intentioné aux affaires que V. E. m'a confiez, elles seroyent en meilleur estat. Je prends Dieu a tesmoing d'y avoir procedé sincèrement et de n'avoir dit ny escrit chose quelconque qu'en conformité de la bonne intention et par ordre exprès de mes Maistres, lesquels y ont apporté tout ce qui dependoit de leur devoir et pouvoir po^{r} en venir à bout, sy les passions particulières eussent donné lieu à la raison. Aussy nonobstant le succez du tout contraire ils perseverent en leur opinion et ne changent d'advis a discretion de la fortune, Mais (coñe sages et experimentez aux affaires du monde et considerant la volubilité d'icelle et à combien de changemens sont subjectes les affaires d'Estat) sont resolus de n'abandonner le traicté, coñe ils m'ont ordonné d'escrire à Gerbier, avis de continuer les mesmes bons offices po^{r} le succez de ce bon œuvre. Je vous supplie de croire, Monseign^{r}, qu'il n'y a point d'artifice en leur procedure, mais qu'ils sont portez de très bon zèle et affection au bien public. C'est aussy sans prejudice des exploicts de guerre d'un costé et d'autre, ou a quelque retardem^{t} d'iceux soubs ce pretexte. Si V. E. sera du mesme advis je seray bien ayse d'avoir par Gerbier, de vos nouvelles, lequel nous avons entretenu long temps esloigné de vře personne sur l'espoir qu'avions du bon succez. Je supplie V. E. nonobstant l'iniquité du temps me conserver en vos bonnes graces et croire que jamais quelque accident de fortune ou violence du destin public ne pourront separer mes affections de vře très humble service, auquel je m'ay dedié et voué une fois pour tousjours en qualité de Monseign^{r},

Vře très humble & très obligé Serviteur,
Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

D'Anvers, ce 18^{me} *de* 7^{bre} 1627.

XV. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [M. DUPUY].

Molto Illust^{RE} Sig^{R} mio Osser^{MO} :

Il nostro Don Sadricquez de Tolledo e pur venuto, Tanquam post bellum Auxilium, et à punto solo per tornarsene, non essendo verisimile che gli voglia Invernare à Morbiano. Delle nostre navi de Duynckercq si augura male, no[n] comparendo sin adesso la maggior parte, et di quelle ch'erano tornato tre sono spiaggiate a furia di vento nel istesso porto di Mardyck, che si rende infame con spessi naufragii. Il Baron de Wacken, Cavagliero principale fiamingo havendo armato cinque navi a sue spese é venuto alle mani con Ollandesi che hanno preso due et altre due buttate a fondo, de maniera che gli resta si non una sola. Il nostro Marchese Spinola si mette al ordine per il viaggio e fra pochi giorni s'inviera tutto il suo bagaggio, et si crede che lui partira subito doppo le feste di Natale. Ho visto lettere d'Ingliterra che dicono quel Re et il Ducca di Boucquingam esser picchatissimi contra gli francesi, cominciando hormai a mettere in ordine una nova Armata, tutta la

colpa del mal successo s'attribuisse al soccorso detenuto in Ingliterra per venti contrarii, non havendo il Ducca piu di tre mille fanti di resto et cinquanta cavalli, quando fu sforzato a ritirarsi dal Isola di Re. Fra tanto se non m'inganno il Re di Francia s'impatronerá de la Rochella, et si riderà di queste minaccie. Qui si fanno poche facende, et a Santvleit hanno fatto maggior guerra e danno gli venti ad ambe le parti che l'arma. E non avendo altro, bacio a V. S. et al Sig^re^ suo fratello de verissimo cuore le mani, et me racomando nella lor buona gracia.

De Vostre Sig^re^ molto Illust^re^

Servitor affettion^o^

Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

D'Anversa, il 16 *de Decembre,* 1627.

XVI. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [M. DUPUY].

Molto Illus^tre^ Sig^r^ mio Osser^mo^:

Il Triumfo de Pariggi parla chiaro mostrando (a bonnes enseignes) la grandezza della rotta degli Inglesi, non ostante che vogliono coprire il suo danno et infamia quanto possono. Io ho visto lettere di Londra scritte de persone di qualità a posta per publicarle come apologie ripiene d'impudentissime bugie al parer mio, essaltando il valore estremo del suo Generale e lodando questa sua retirata come una attione heroica et diminuiscendo il numero degli lor morti. In quella zuffa sino a ducento cinquanta, de maniera che bisogna presupponere che queste 44 Insegne fossero caricate sopra un carro et siano prese insieme col bagaggio, o che gli lor Alfieri si siano resi tutti senza Colpo ferire, perche 44 Compagnie fanno un mediocre essercito, ansi maggiore che di tre mille come jiudicono che fossero in tutto. Io credo che facil^te^ seguirebbe qualque accordo si la Rochella fosse presa, perche allora cessarebbe a gli Inglesi il scrupulo d'abbandonarla. Gli nostri Sr^i^ Marchesi Spinola e Leganes si dice che partiranno domani, ma Io non posso credere che siano per mettersi in viaggio l'ultimo ò il primo del anno, et ben potriano tardar sino al terzo ò il quarto di Gennaro. Del resto non abbiamo novita alcuna di momento. A Santvliet ciascuna parte va riparando il danno patito nelle sue fortificationi per il Temporale passato. Final^te^ il Principe d'Oranges ha prohibito che non si conducono piu viveri al nostro campo che pur vengono ancora benche in minor quantita de sottomano. Ringracio V. S. per le lettere de M^r^ Balsac che spero ricevere ben presto. Io ho letto accurata^te^ il suo Censore chi vera^te^ dice bene e fa prova non solo col discorso bellissi^mo^ e dottissimo ma col stilo proprio quanto ben intendi il mestiero della Eloquenza. Ma nel fine non mi dispiaciono alcune sentenze tolte e tradotte de Balsach da gli Autori Antichi ne veggo che sia reprensibile per questo furto. Io vorrei poter imaginarmi qualque cosa da reservire V. S. et baciando a V. S. humil^te^ le mani mi raccomando nella sua buona gracia, et prego a V. S. et al S^r^ fratello del Cielo un felecisi^o^ novel anno.

De Vos Sig^re^ molto Illus^e^

Servitor Affo^mo^

Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

Faro diligenza d'aver d'Ollanda quei libri del Cardan et di Grotio se possibile sara et ringracio V. S. del aviso.

D'Anversa, il 30 *di Decembr,* 1627.

XVII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Monseigneur :

Je n'ay voulu manquer à mon deveoir envers V. Exc. et le bien publicq de vous advertir que Monsieur le Marquis Spinola m'a escrit de Madrid le troisième de ce mois Quil trouve en sa Maj^e^ Catholique une tres bonne disposition de faire paix avecq iceulx qu'il est en guerre. C'est assez dit a un bon entendeur si V. Ex. continue en sa bonne et saincte intention de procurer comme elle peut de son costé ce bien au monde il faudra me donner le moien den asseurer Mons^r^ le Marquis pendant son sejour a la Cour d'Espaigne que sera brief estant sa presence tres necessaire au Pays bas. Je vous supplie Monseigneur me faire l'honneur d'un mot de responce et me conserver en vos bonnes graces n'ayant en ce monde aultre desir que destre tout le durant de ma vie Monseigneur,

Rubens.

D'Anvers, le 18 *Mars,* 1628.

XVIII. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO JOSIAS VOSBERGHEN.

Monsieur :

Jay receu une responce de Monsieur le Marquis par une lettre de Madrid en datte du 3^e^ de ce mois, laquelle a esté expediée par le premier extraordinaire qui a esté envoyé apprès son arivée. Nos lettres du 11 de Febvrier ont esté receues et agreables à son Exc. mais dit quil ne peut faire auqu'un fondement pour traictter avant que vous n'opteniez vos pouvoirs en bonne forme et authoritéz autentiques pour traitter de l'affaire dont est fait mention dens les pappiers delivrez. De plus Mons^r^ le Marquis m'escrit ces parolles particulieres, *Il est très certain que Sa Maj^e^ Catholique a une très bonne disposition pour faire une paix avecq ceux qu'il est en guerre.* Sur ce vous pouvez estre asseuré, c'est un tres grand changement en peu de temps et se faict servir de ceste ocasion durant le sejour de Monsieur le Marquis à la Court d'Espagne, aultrement il n'en peut ariver rien de bon. Il est prompt en ces expeditions et surmontera par sa diligence, toutte la lantittude, parce aussi que sa presence est necessaire en ce Pays ; cest pourquoy, ce qui ce doit faire, qu'il ce fasse vittement, et n'aiant aultre je me recommande en vos bonnes graces demeurant tousjours,

Rubens.

D'Anvers, ce 18 *Mars,* 1628.

Coppie du petit mesmoire apart.

Monsieur, Je ne puis sans vous advertir que j'ay descouvert que le traitté de Mons. Vande Wouwere sadvance et sur ce a esté expedié en Espagne, avecq grande esperance de bon efect. Lon portte laffaire sur le tiltre *Principis feudataris* par advis en confidence.

XIX. PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [THE EARL OF CARLISLE].

Monseigneur :

Jay reçeu la vostre tres agreable du 27 de Novẽbre de Novara per

Monsieur L'Abbé Scaglia vostre grand Amy e Serviteur, Lequel at esté tres bien venu et receu en ceste Cour, comme je l'avois tousjours asseuré par mes lettres. Jespere que nous verrons bien tost les Effects de sa valeur e prudence, et que les Interes des Roys nos Maistres se rendront inseparables et leur reputation e gloire tellement unie qu'il ny restera aucun scrupule entre leurs serviteurs du service de l'un à l'aultre. En tous evenemens Je seray tousjours celluy que je professe d'estre de tout mon Cœur,

Monseigneur,
de vostre Excellence,
Tres humble, tres affectionné e tres obligé Serviteur,
Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

Il me deplaist navoir eu le bonheur de vous pouvoir servir de ma petite assistence à vostre passage a Bruxelles, ancor que je suis bien asseuré que des aultres plu suffisants et accomplis que moy se seront acquitez dignement a vous servir et honnorer comme il appartient a vostre merite e qualite et selon la tres bonne intention de l'Infante ma Maistresse.

De Madrit, le 30 *de Janvier,* 1629.

XX. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SECRETARY LORD DORCHESTER.

Monsieur :

Auparavant de la reception de vostre derniere du 27 de May, selon vostre style, que me fust livree le 14 de Juing silon nostre stile, Je n'avois aucune cognoiscance de ce saufconduit qu'on desiroit pour Mons^r^ Rustorf, pouvant estre que V. Ex^e^ en fit seulement mention en ses lettres s'addressantes a Mons^r^ l'Audiencier, pour le moins je ne me puis imaginer la cause du manquement de ceste depeche, car jay trouvé la Ser^me^ Infante fort voluntaire, et Mons^r^ L'Audiencier tres bien disposé à la faire promptement, et je la baillay incontinent a vostre Courier, avecq la lettre du Seig^r^ Don Carlos à Mons^r^ Bruneau. Le terme du Passeport est de six moys, le quel on pourra tousjours renouveller, aultant de foix qu'il vous plaira, mais touchant sa demeure en Allemagne durant la Diete, S. A. n'en faict aucunement mencion, ne dependant d'elle, mais çela se negociara au lieu mesme, a linstance de la lettre du Seig^r^ Don Carlos Coloma, per laddvis de Monsieur Bruneau avecq le Ducq de Tursis. Cependant, son Passage, allant ou venant, sera tres asseuré en vertu du Passeport de S. A. Les nouvelles que vostre Courrier nous porta de bouche de l'heureux accouchement de la Reyne d'un Prince de Galles, furent receues de la Serenis^me^ Infante avecque tout le contentement et joye quelle pourroit monstrer en semblables occasions des Roys, ses plus proches parens et alliez. Et quant a moy, Je confesse que la passion extreme que jay d'estre et de paroistre très zelant Serviteur de Sa Ma^te^ de la Grande Bretaigne, m'eust transporté a quelque excès, si la disposition exterieure de l'Estat present me l'eust aucunement permis. J'espere que le retour du Secretaire de Mons^r^ Cotinton aurat avansé l'affaire d'un gran pas, le quel, on dit, estre arrivé le 28 ou 29 de May [stilo veteri] a Londres. Nous attendons icy par momens une depesche d'Espaigne, la quelle ne marche pas si viste comme est de coustume, pour ce que la porte un Cavaglier de qualité, l'accusant l'ordinaire (arrivé avanthier) destre party avant luy. Je ne manqueray aussi tost que je me trouveray chez moy en Anvers, davoir soin

de vostre Tableau, en conformité de sa mesure, prenant à ma charge de faire servir V. Ex. exactement, et avecq desir d'avoir plusieurs occasions pour monstrer mon zele e devocion envers son service

Je demeure à jamais
De Vostre Excellence
très humble e très obeissant Serviteur,
PIETRO PAUOLO RUBENS.

De Brusselles, le 18 *de Guing de l'An* 1630.

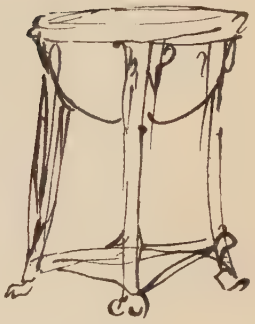
XXI. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [N. C. FABRI DE PEIRESC.]

MOLTO ILLUS^RE SIG^R MIO OSSER^MO :

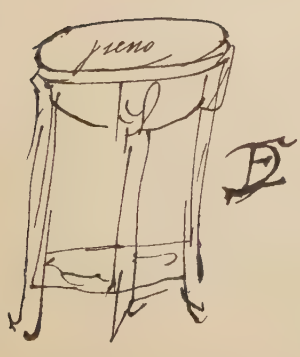
MI e capitato final^te il desideratissimo Pachetto di V. S. congli dissegni essatissimi del suo Tripode e molte altre curiosita per le quale rendo a V. S. il solito pagamento de mille ringraciamenti. Ho dato al Sig^r Gevartio il dissegno de Jove Planco e communicato ancora tutto il resto si come ancora al dottiss^mo Sig^r Vendelino che per sorte si trova in Anversa et me venne veder hieri col Sig^e Gevartio. Non ho pero hauto tempo questi giorni solo d'hieri et hoggi di poter leggere il suo discorso sopra il Tripode che senza dubbio in quella materia deve toccar tutto quello che cade sotto l' intelletto humano, ma non voglio lasciar perçio de dire secondo la mia temerita solita ancora il parer mio che so çerto V. S. col solito candore pigliara in buoniss^me parte. Tutti, inprimis, gli uteusili che poggiavano sopra tre piedi si chiamavano antica^te Tripodi, ancor che servissero a
A diversissimi effetti, come tavole, sedie, candelabra, pigniatti etc., Et tra gli altri ebbero un stromento da mettere sul fuoco sotto gli Lebiti (chaudrons en francese) a cuocere le carni, che s'usa ancora hoggidi in molte parti d Europa, poi si e fatto un componimento del lebete e del Tripode come noi sacciamo le nostre pigniate de ferro e bronzo con tre piede ; ma gli Antichi lhanno fatto con belliss^me proportioni et, al parer mio questo fu il vero Tripode
B mentionato in Homero et altri poete et historici Greci che adoperavano *in re culenaria* a cuocere le lor vivande, e rispetto le viscerationi usate nelli sacrificij si comiçio havere *Inter sacram supellectilem ad eundem usum.* Ma il Tripode Delphico io non credo che dirivasse di questo genere, ma che fosse
C una sorte di sedia posata in tre piedi come s'usano ancora vulgar^te in tutta Europa, la quale non haveva il bacile concavo, ò si era concavo per conservarvi dentro le spoglie di Pythone [si trouano nelli monumenti antichi sedie de quattro piede ut *sella Jovisi* ma ancora alcuni scabelle, o sedie a tre piedi come gli nostri scabelli] *era coperto in cima* e sopra questo poteva sedere la Pythonissa con qualque pertuggio sotto, ma ch'ella sedisse colle natiche sino nel fondo del concavo non mi par veresimile per l incommodita e taglio
D del orlo del bacile. Potria ancora essere, che sopra questo Cratere fosse distesa come sopra un Tamburro la pelle de Pythone et percio si chiamasse Cortina, e chella fosse forata insieme col lebete. Certo e che in Roma si trouano diversi Tripodi di marmo che non hanno concavita alcuna e soleva^no
E ancora come V. S. vedera in alcuni luochi citati qui sotto, posar tal volta delle statue dedicate a diversi Dei sopra gli medesimi Tripodi che non poteva essere si non in fondo sodo e ripieno, et si deve credere che ad imitatione del Tripode Delphico sapplicassero ancora ad altri Dei et che il Tripode significasse ogni sorte d oraculo e misterio sacro

Candelabro
mensa

A.


B

come due Dodoro C.
sene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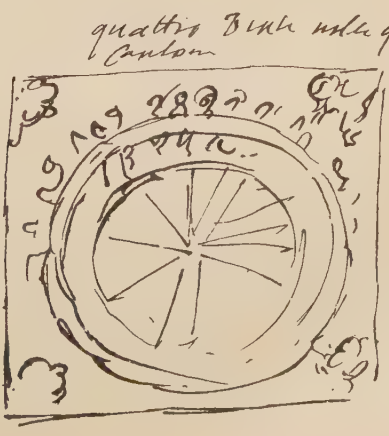
D


quattro Buchi nelle quattro
Cantoni

onde si vede ancora in mimis M. Lepidi, P.M. Ma quello che fa piu al proposito nostro, dirò con piu attentione civè che gli antichi usassero una certa foggia de riscaldatio o rechau, come si dice in francese, fatto di bronso [sono duo rechaus dargento fatti in pariggi di questa sorte,] questi sadopano in ogni parte per resistere al fuoco in forma di Tripode del quale si serviuono negli lor sacrificij e forse ancora nelle lor convitti, non e pero dubbio che questo non fosse il Tripode aneo tante volte mentionato nella storia ecclesiastica d' Eusebio et altri che forniua a gli suffumigij degli Idoli, come V. S. vedera negli luochi sotto allegati. Et si non m'inganno al ingrosso questo Tripode aeneo de V. S., considerando bene la materia, la paruita e simplicita del lauoro, fu uno di questi che sadoperavano nelli sacrificij per lincenso et il buso in mezzo forniua per spirarglio ad accender maggior^re^ gli carboni, come e necessario, che tutti gli richau moderni habbeno ancora qualque pertuggio o molti a questo effetto, et secondo si po comprendere dal dessegno il fondo del bacile o Cratere e rotto e consumato del fuoco [V. S. che la sua quantita non eccede la Grandezza di un richau ordinario che usiamo hoggidi, e la figura e tanto propria a questo effetto che quando io havessi di besogno d'uno vorrei far lo de quella maniera] Questo e quanto io posso dire cald^te^ sopra questo particolare lasciando a V. S. libera la sua censoria autorita, almeno il Sig^ri^ Vendelino ne Gevartio mi alleganno delle raggioni bastanti in Contrario ansi penso che poco a poco inclinaranno à questa sentenza. Quella Camina plumbea e notabilissima che si donerebbe proporre *Saturnalibus optimo dierum.* Il fragmento ancora e bisarro con quelli dei Egyttij et il vento che al parer mio deve esser stato qualque Calendario rustico per saper le feste principale et altri misterij delle staggioni, del anno e sono da notare gli circhij attorno le teste delli dei more Egyptio come si vede In Tabula Isiaca. Ma sopra tutto mi parono gentillisimi quei Annelli Nuptiali cosi gentilmente inscritti che l'istessa Venere con tutte le sue Gracie non potrebbe far meglio. Questi vagliono un Tesoro ansi sono inestimabili al parer mio, si maraviglianno tutti che V. S. in tanta Calamita Publica stia col animo tanto reposato che possa col gusto solito continuar la sua nobiliss^ma^ curiosita nella osservacione *rerum antiquarum. Specimen animi bene compositi et vera philosophia imbuti.* Spero pero che al arrivo de questa havera cessato il male e chella sara hormai di retorno nel suo sacro museo che piacera al Sig^r^ Dio sia con ogni felicitâ e contentessa per molti anni come questo suo devotissimo Ser^e^ desidera con tutto il cuore et gli bacia le mani.

Di V. S. molto Illust^re^
servitor aff^or^
Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

D'Anversa, il d'Agosto, 1630.

Questi dessigni sono esquisita^te^ ben fatti e certo in queste genere non si potrebbe far meglio, sara bene che V. S. tenga questo vertuoso giovane appresso de se per essecutore degli suo i belliss^re^ concetti. Il retratto de V. S. e stato gratiss^o^ a me et a questi Sig^ri^ che l' hanno veduto e restono interra^te^ sodisfatti della somiglianza ma io confesso non mi parere di relucere in questa faccia non so che di Spiritoso, et una Certa Emphasi nel sembiante che mi pare propria del Genio di V. S. la quale pero non si acerta facil^te^ in pittura da ogniuno. Rendo a V. S. de novo mille gracie per tanti regali e la prego voler bacciar

le mani con tutto il cuore da mia parte al gentilis^{e} Sig^{r} de Valaviss veriss^{e} suo fratello che mi ha scritto di Lyone agli quattri de Julio dandomi noua d'haver ricevuto il mio retratto che nie dubito sara mal trattato per il longo viaggio et in tutti modi indegno del museo de V. S. sinon in qualita de servitore.

Hos locos contractos

Si ha quî una funestiss^{m} nova d'Italia che agli 22 di Gulio sia stata prisa per escalata la citta de Mantoua da gli Imperiali con morte della maggior parte degli habitanti che mi duole in estremo por haver servito molti anni Casa Gonzaga e godato della deliciosisi^{ma} residenza de quel paese nella mia giouentu. *Sic erat in fatis.*

XXII. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS.

Myn Heere:

V. Er. sal seer verwondert wesen in soo langhen tyt gheen tydings van den ontfanck V. E. boeck door my ontfanghen te hebben, den welcken, als blyckt wt V. E. aenghenaemen vanden 24 May, voor datum aen my ghedestineert was. Toch Ick bedde V. E. believe te ghelooven, dat den voorseyden boeck my nà eerst over 14 daeghen behandicht is, door eenen van dese stadt, ghenoemte Leon Hemselroy, met veele excusen van soo spaeden bestellinghe ; dat is de oorsaecke dat ick V. E. brief oock niet beantwoordt en hebbe, want ick eerst wunschsten den boeck te seen ende te lesen, ghelyck ick nu mit attentie ghedaen hebbe ; ende om de waerheyt te segghen, ick bevinde dat V. E. onse conste seer vereert heeft Immenso hoc totius antiquitatis t'esauro, tanta diligentia refosso, et ordine pulcherrimo publicè distributo. Nam liber iste D. V^{re}, ut uno verbo dicam, verè promus Condus est uberrimus omnium exemplorum, sententiarum et dogmatum quæ à veteribus uspiam sparsim, ad dignitatem et lucem Artis Pictoriæ pertinentia, litteris consecrata, maximo nostro emolumento hactenus perennarunt. Itaque titulo et argumento libri *De Pictura veterum* a D. V^{a} ad unguem satisfactum censeo, monita etiam et leges, giudicia et exempla maximam nobis lucem afferentia passim inserta, et admiranda quadam eruditione elegantissimoque locutionis genere expressa, et ordine recta totum hoc opus perfectissimè digestum atque insigni cura et linia ad calcem usque perpolitum. Sed quoniam exempla illa veterum Pictorum fantasia tantum et pro cujusque capus magis aut minus assequi possumus, vellem equidem eadem diligentia similem quandoque tractatum excudi posse, de Picturis Italorum, quorum exemplaria sive prototypa adhuc hodie publicè prostant, et digito possunt monstrari, et dicire "hæc sunt." Nam illa quæ sub sensum cadunt acriùs imprimuntur et hærent, et exactiùs examen requirunt, atque materiam uberiorem proficiendi studiosis præbent quam illa quæ sola imaginatione tanquam somnia, se nobis offerunt, et verbis tantum adumbrata, ter frustra comprensa (ut Orphium Euridices Imago) eludunt sæpe et sua quemque spe frustrantur. Quod experti dicimus ; nam quotusquisque nostrum, si præclarum aliquod Apellis aut Thimantis opus, à Plinio aut aliis Authoribus graphice descriptum pro rei dignitate oculis subjicere tentaturus aliquid non insulsum aut à veterum majestate non alienum præstabit, sed genio suo quisque indulgens, musteum aliquid pro Opimiano illo dulce amaro promet, et injuriam magnis illis manibus afferet, quos ego veneratione summa prosequor, et

vestigia euntium potius adoro, quàm vel sola cogitatione assequi, me posse ingenuè profiteor. Ick bidde myn Heere believe my wel aftenemen tghene ick mit unendelycke liberteyt ben seggende, met hope dat V. E. ons naer soo goeden promulsedem niet en sal weygheren ipsum Caput Cænæ, daet wy allegaeder seer naer verlanghen, want tot noch toe en heeft ons niemant onsen appetyt voldaen, van alle die ghene die alhulcken materie ghetracteert hebben ; nam oportet venire ad Individua, ut dixi, waernedo ick ghebe my wt ganscher harten In V. E. goede gunste, ende grootelyck voor de eere die my gheschiet is met de presentatie van V. E. boeck end vriendeschap bedanckende, blyve in der wawreheyt

Myn Heere
V. E. ootmoedeghen ende gheaffec^{er} dienaer,
Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

Antwerpiæ raptim et stans pede in uno, den eersten Augusti, 1631.

Aen Myn Heere,
Myn Heere Franciscus Junius,
Int hof van Mynheere den Mareschal Graeve van Arundel, &c., tot London.

XXIII. "EXTRAIT OF A LETTER OF S^{R} PETER REUBENS TO THE ABBATE D'ESCAGLIA."

The 15 *of Novemb^{r}* 1631.

Non entendo pero quello che V. E. mi dice avermi scritto che non trovo in alcuna delle sue precedente, che si se tratto de questo deve esser cosa molto occulta, et non passa per mano de Gerbier il quale si e reso molto sospetto di Chanteloupe per aver sostenuto con qualque animosita el Marquis. Pero non seria gran cosa se a luy celessero il vero secreto. L'Infante mi dice haverne sentito qualque vento.

Advertisse V. Exc: che se lo trovo buono non deve confidarlo a Gerbier il quale e contrario, pur per il bene chio gli voglio l'ho advertito che no sopponga directamente ad una cosa che non e impossibile che habbia effetto, per non remanere colto in mezzo tra persone tanto Conguente, et di qualita tan eminente, Almeno io ne aliun dependente del Rey d'Espagne ni de l'Infante se deve ingerire in questo, ansi piu tosto cerchar d'imperdirlo ch'altro ; anchor che fosse solo per salvar il decoro del nostro. Etc.

[The rest was a relation of the ill-government of the Queene Mother.]

XXIV. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO B. GERBIER.

Myn Heere:

Ick hebbe ghevonden thuys comende de Patente vande Priviligien van Vranckryck tsaemen met V. E. brief, ende Van S^{r} Chevalier du Jar en Van S^{r} Juan Maria : het en importeert niet dat den segel gheheel ghebrocken is, want sal niet te min effect hebben. Ick blyve V. E. seer verobligeert daer voor, ende bedancke V. E. wt ganscher harten. Oock en sal ick niet laeten aen Mons^{r} le Chevalier du Jar het ressentiment te toonen dat sy op my begheyrt. Het is een wonder man die almentom hem weet te doen valeren by de alder grootste, Gode gheve dat het maeg ten besten wel afloopen

soo ick hope. *V. E. sal desen ontfanghen wt handen van Il Sig^r Abbate Scaglia, die ick een weynig hebbe voor ghehouden van de saecke van Biscarat waer op ick meyne dat hy V. E. sal satisfactie gheven. Want al ist dat Biscarat het op den Abbate cargeert, soo was hy evenwel van andere te voren al te vollen gheinformeert ende quam hem alleenlyck de tonghe scrabben.* [My geeft wonder dat S^r Juan Maria nie begheert te schryven ende een gentilesse te kryschen van myn handt, nie ick meynde dat wy door soo langhen tyt bycans malcanderen vergheten hadden.] *My is leet te mercken dat de francoysken V. E. oock seer quaede officien by S. A ende onse groote Ministers doen; hoe wel V. E. daer niet op en behorft te passen, van synen Coninck alleen dependerende; toch mochte wel difficulteren de affairen der met hun mocten ghetracteert worden. Ick ben my tot nester tyt gheretireert, ende en hadde noot min berauw van eenighe resolvere by my ghenomen, tot eenighe tyt. Ende hebbende niet anders, ghebiede* ick my tsarmen met myn huysvrauwe wt ganscher harten in V. E. goede gracie, ende van myvrauwe V. E. huysvrauwe, blyvende aen allebeyde voor allen onsbruen,

V. E. ootmoedighe dienaers,
P. P. Rubens.

Wt Antwerpem den 12 *April, A°* 1632.

[*Harl.* 4935, *No.* 25.]

XXV. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [N. C. FABRI DE PEIRESC].

Molto Illus^RO Sig^R mio Osservand :

Gia V. S. haurà visto per la mia precedentè ch'io haurera ricevuto la nova per Monsieur le Gris del buon essito del *mio Processo* in Parlamento, mercè gli favori e buoni officij delli Amici di V. S., come ho scritto largamente a V. S. e datoli le Gratie benche di gran longa inferiore al suo merito, che mi obliga ad una perpetua gratitudine, mentre auero spirto e vita per poter honorare a servirla con tutti le mie forze. Il Sg^r Aubrij mi avisa, che gli miei adversarij non si rendono ancora, ma hanno presentato requeste civile la quale e stata rimessa in mano di Monsieur le Conseill^r Saunier per viderla e farne rapporto. Io non m'intendo della chicana e sono cosi semplice ch'io pensaua ch'un arresto della Corte di Parlamento fosse l'ultima decisione di un Processo senza appello o replicha subsequente, come le sentenze par deça delli consigli Soverani, e percio non posso imaginarmi qual possa essere il soggietto di questa Richiesta, non ho manchato di mandar subito a Madame Saunier gli essemplari delle mie stampe ordinatemi per Mons^r le Gris al suo passaggio per diquà, al quale faccendo instanza di dichiararmi quello ch'era necessario di provedere per le spese e regali e recognoscementi dovuti a quelle che hanno cooperato in questo negocio, mi pregò di differire sino al suo ritorno [excepta sola Madame Saunier che voleva si faccesse subito] perche non si trovava il conte e desiderava di farla distributione di sua mano, et che fra tanto egli haveva lasciato buon ordine a fine che non manchasse niente per il restante nella sua absensa, e mi assicurò che *Monsieur d'Auberij* aveva preso a suo cargo di procurare tutto il necessario per l'intiera perfettione della cosa, ma non mi disse che sborsarebbe alcun dinaro come veggo per la copia della sua a V. S. che ha pagato 20 *escus quarts* pour les espices, di che non fa mentione in quella che mi scrisse il 22 di Maggio. hora non so come io debba fare, o se conviene di restituere questa summa

sola a Monsieur Dauberij a l'instante, o aspettar il ritorno de Mons^r Le Gris per farlo tutto insieme o di scrivere a Mons. Dauberij che supponendo chegli habbia sborsato per le spese del mio Processo in absenza di Mons^r le Gris quello ch'era necessario per levar la sentenza et altro, lo supplico di volermi avisare del quanto, a fine chio possa rimborsarlo quanto prima come faro proutamente et vi aggiungero per marcha di gratitudine *quale Galanteria* etc. In quanto al scrupulo del Triennale intervallo tra il primo et ultimo privileggio, egli si funda nel numero delli anni notati sotto il Crucifisso [1632] minore che sono fatte con tal ambiguita che non si puo ben discernere se l'ultima ciffra sia 1 ò 2 benche doveva essere necessareament^e un 2 ma le sue corne e projetture non sono assai expresse, e pero notorio a tutto il mondo chio mi trovaij l'anno 1631 in Ingliterra et chera impossibile di far questo intaglio in absenza mia essendo stato ritocchо (come s'usa sempre) più volte di mia mano. Con tutto çiò perche non si ha messo questo dubbio del adversario, non occorre metterlo in disputa. Vedremo qual sera l'essetto de la Requeste etc.

Siamo qui in gran travaglio per il passagio del esserçito Francese in assistenza delli Hollandesi, il quale [vicino a marche en famine] ha dato una rotta al Principe Dom Thomaso de maggior consideratione per la disreputatione e spavento che per il danno, essendo morta pochissima gente, ma la maggior parte delli cassi della infantaria presi colla artigliaria e bagaggio s'attribuisce questa perdita, alla temerita, e inadvertenza del Generale che senza spie e senza essere ben informato del numero, forsze et andamento del suo nimico, volse venire alle mani con tanto disavantaggio che fu disfatto in manco di una mezz'hora. Si salvo molta gente in un bosco ivi vicino e per l'asprezza della contrada. Certo che la rottura tra le due Corone sta nel punto .supremo che mi da gran travaglio *per essere huomo di natura e volunta pacifico et inimico Capitale de risse Processi e questoni querelles Publice* et privatim. Oltra che non so se in tempo di guerra saria valido il Privilegio di S. M^a et potria esser in tal caso che tutte le nostre fatiçhe e spe per ottenir la decisione in Parlamente a mantenerlo, fossero infruttuose. E sopra tutto apprehendo [gli stati delle Provincie unite mi fanno osservere gli lor Privileggi Inviolabil^te in tempo di guerra aperta] che forse la nostra correspondenza correra rischio di una nova suspenzione per qualque anni, non gia da parte mia ma perche V. S. essendo persona eminente et in cargo principale non potra mantenerla senza incorrere qualque sospetto. Mi conformaro sempre benche con dispiaccere infinito a quello che sara necessario per la tranquillita et sicurazza di V. S. con che humilto bacciando a V. S. di veriss^o cuore le mani resto in eterno,

Di Vost. S^r Molto Illus^e e Rever

Humilis^mo et obligat Servite

Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

D'Anversa, il 31 *di Maggio L^mo*, 1635.

[Della cassetta non habbiamo ancora nova alcuna et io vado risanandomi per la Gratia divina della mia Gotta et ho dato ordine per le cosette commandatemi da V. S. ma per conto delle medaglie con quelle note il S^r Rockox sin adesso no ha potuto trovar alcuna.]

Mi restano le maraviglie che V. S. mi dice *del movimento delle Pietre*

versus centrum gravitatis (*che bene intendo*) *e verso la circumferenza* dal centro del luoco oue si formano, del quale confesso ingenuamente non haver sin adesso trovato chi lo mentionasse ni capisco come si faccia se V. S. non si dichiara piu chiaramente si come ancora par imperceptibile la causa di quel moto sympathico della *Pietra nella versica* di quel amalato suo Parente col moto della Luna, ma sendo stracorso il tempo per certi impedimenti e forza di tralasciar questi discorsi bellissimi e saporiti al mio palato, sino a miglior commodita con che di novo bacio a V. S. le mani.

XXVI. [POWER OF ATTORNEY GIVEN BY SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO LIONEL WAKE, JUN^{R}, AUTHORISING HIM TO RECEIVE THE MONEY DUE TO RUBENS FOR THE PICTURES HE HAD PAINTED BY COMMAND OF KING CHARLES I. FOR THE CEILING OF WHITEHALL].

Scaichent tous ceulx qui ce present Instrument verront ou lire oyront que le treisiesme jour du mois de Novembre, l'an de Grace mil six cent et trente sept, pardevant moy Toussein Guÿot Notaire et Tabellion publicq par les Consaulx de Sa Ma^{te} Catholicque Prive et de Brabant admis et approuvé resident en Anvers, et les tesmoings soubz escripts comparust en personne le S^{r} Pietro Paulo Rubens Chevalier, Seig^{r} de Steene et Secretaire du Conseil Privé de Sa d^{te} Ma^{te} resident en ceste d^{te} Ville d'Anvers a moy Notaire cognu et a de sa franche et libre volunté faict cree constitue et commis par ceste son procureur general et especial asscavoir Leonel Wacke le Jeusne deñt a Londres en Angleterre, luy donnant plain povoir authorite et mandement absolut, pour au nom et de la part du d^{t} S^{r} Constituant demander recouvrir et reçepvoir les trois mille livres esterlins que Sa Ma^{te} Royale d'Angleterre at este servie d'ordonner par son seel Prive a son Eschecquer ou Tresorierie de payer ou satisfaire au dict Constituant en recompence des peinctures faictes de sa main pour le souffict ou plaffon de sa Sale Royale a Withal, De son reçeu bailler passer et recognoistre telles quictances ou actes que besoing sera, Et generalement et especiallement de es choses dessus d^{tes} et dependences d'icelles aultant faire dire procurer et besoigner que le d^{t} S^{r} Constituant mesmes feroit faire et dire pourroit si present en personne ÿ estoit. Promectant en bonne foy d'avoir et tenir pour bon ferme et agreable a tousjours tout ce que par son dict procureur constitue en tout ce que dessus sera faict dict procure et besoigne, sans jamais aller faire ny venir allencontre en aulcune maniere soubz l'obligation de sa personne et biens, Ce que fust aussi faict et passe en Anvers au comptoir de mon Notaire joindant la boursse des Marchants en presence de Melchior van Schoonhoue et Jehan van Ghecle comme tesmoings à ce requis. Et a le d^{t} S^{r} constituant signe de son nom la note de ceste au registre de mon Notaire.

Quod attestor signo meo manuali solito

T. Guyot, Not^{s} Pub^{s}.

Nous soubsignez certifions que Toussein Guyot ayant soubsigne ce precedent Instrument, est Notaire et Tabellion publicq resident en ceste Ville

d'Anvers ; et qu'aux Actes et Instruments par luy ainssi signez lon a tousjours donne et donne entiere foy et credit en droict et dehors.

P^rus^ De Breuseghan, Noñius.

A Van Coüwenberghe, Not^s^.

XXVII. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO SIR B. GERBIER.

Monsieur :

Il est vray que Mons^r^ Norgate se trouvant chez moy donna de l'œuil sur cette piece de St. Laurens en Escurial sans s'arrester avecq quelque estonnem^t^ des circonstances sur le reste que bien legèrement, et il ne me sembla pas necessaire alors de le desabuser pour ne luy donner quelque mescontentement. Mais me voyant pressé à dire la verité pour ne tromper pas Sa Maj^te^ de la Grande Bretagne, à la quelle j'ay tant d'obligations, Je confesse que la susdite peinture n'est pas de ma main, mais faitte entierem^t^ par un Peintre de plus communs [qui s'appelle Verhulst] de ceste ville apres un mien dessein fait sur le lieu mesme. Aussi n'est elle aucunem^t^ digne de paroistre entre les merveilles du Cabinet de sa Maj^te^, la quelle poura tousjours disposer absoluem de tout ce que j'ay au monde, ensemble de ma personne comme de son tres humble serviteur. Je vous prie de me conserver en ses bonnes graces et les vostres, et m'honorer de vos commandem^ts^ en toute occasions de vos^re^ service, estant de tout mon cœur,

Mons^r^, Vñe très humble serviteur

Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

D'Anvers le 15 *de Mars* 1640.

XXVIII. SIR PETER PAUL RUBENS TO [SIR B. GERBIER?].

Monsieur : [*Antwerp, April,* 1640.]

Voyci la peinture de S. Laurens en Escurial aschevée selon la capacité du Maistre toutesfois avecq mon advis. Plaise à Dieu que l'extravagance du suget puisse donner quelque recreation à Sa Maj^te^. La Montaigne s'appelle la Sierra de S. Juan en Malagon, elle est fort haulte et erte, et fort difficile à monter et descendre, de sorte que nous avions les Nuees desous nostre venue bien bas, demeurant en hault le ciel fort clair et serain. Il i at en la summité un grande Croix de bois la quelle se decouvre aysement de Madrit, et il y â de coste une petite Eglise dediée a S. Jean qui ne se pouvoit representer dedans le tableau, car nous l'avions derriere le dos, ou que demeure un Eremite que voicy avecq son borico. Il n'est pas besoing de dire que en bas est le superbe bastiment de S^t^ Laurens en Escurial avecq le Village et ses alees d'arbres avecq la Frisneda et ses deux estangs et le chemin vers Madrid qu apparoit en hault proche de l'orizont. La montagne coverte de ce nuage se dit la Sierra tocada pourçe quelle a quasi tousjours comme un voyle alentour de sa teste. Il y quelque tour e mayson a costé ne me souvenant pas de leur nom particulierement, mais je scay que le Roy i alloit par occasion de la Chasse

La montagne tout contre a main gauche est la Sierra y puerto de butrago. Voyla tout ce que je puis dire sur ce sujet demeurant a jamais,

Monsieur,

Vostre serviteur tres humble,

PIETRO PAULO RUBENS.

J'ay ouble de dire qu'au sommet nous rencontrasmes forse vinayson comme est representé en la Peinture.

APPENDIX B.

THE ARUNDELIAN COLLECTION.

GERARD HONTHORST, OTHON VAN VEEN, &c.

THE following Correspondence of that most zealous and enlightened Patron of Art, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, contains particulars of the highest interest. "THE FATHER OF VERTU IN ENGLAND," he was (says Evelyn) "the great Mæcenas of all politer arts and the boundless amasser of antiquities." Sir Dudley Carleton, of whom we have made such frequent mention, appears to have been one of the first to contribute to Lord Arundel's collection. Walpole says, *he began to collect statues and pictures about* 1615; from which, I think, we may infer that the pictures bought by Carleton of Daniel Nys in Venice, and for which Lord Arundel paid £200, were, perhaps, one of the first purchases of works of art made by the Earl. It will be remarked also that Carleton, on several occasions, sent him choice presents; to wit, "a Jupiter's head," "a very fine bason of stone, wth an Ewer alla anticha," "Æneas flying from y^{e} sack of Troy." Fortune seemed to smile on this highly favoured Patron of the Arts; in October 1616, King James I. "bestowed upon his L. all my L. of Somersett's pictures, w^{ch} are valued at the least worth £1000," and they must have been fully worth that sum, a large amount in those days. The purchases of pictures and statues, which Carleton alone made for the Earl of Somerset, amounted to nearly £900 [see pp. 273-4], and we may suppose they did not nearly embrace the whole of that rich gift. Here, then, was a rock, as it were, upon which to found his afterwards most celebrated and world-renowned collection. This glorious acquisition must have stimulated him to renewed exertions to increase it; it certainly did, for we have evidence that he never omitted taking advantage of any opportunity to purchase antiquities, pictures, articles of vertu, choice books, &c. He no sooner heard that such treasures were to be had in Italy, Holland, Spain, or in fact in any part of the world, than he immediately despatched an agent, with full power and ample means, to purchase. The obstacles which he surmounted, and the length of time which elapsed before he succeeded in obtaining some of the most interesting portions of his matchless collection,

fully exhibit his untiring zeal and perseverance, when the possession of any object relating to art was in question.

Sir Dudley Carleton, at the Hague; Sir Isaac Wake, at Turin; Sir Balthasar Gerbier, at Brussels; Sir Thomas Roe, at Constantinople; Sir Francis Cottington and Lord Aston, at Madrid, were Ambassadors from England, severally written to, and urgently requested to assist him, and give their countenance and support to his several agents in the "collection of matters of arte;" and whether it were "Pictures by Titian," "Drawings of Leonardo de Vinze," "a booke of Holbens," "Peeces of Antiques in marble, whole statues or lesse peeces," or "any of y^e^ like nature," they were entreated to use their influence so that they might be bought for him. The correspondence between Lord Arundel and Sir Thomas Roe will be read with no little interest, inasmuch as the antiquities spoken of formed part of those marbles brought to England in 1627 by the same William Petty, which were subsequently bequeathed to the University of Oxford, and are now known as the "*Marmora Oxoniensia.*"

Perhaps, the first picture by Gerard Honthorst, brought to England, was "Æneas flying from y^e^ sack of Troye." It was presented to Lord Arundel by Sir Dudley Carleton, whose letter, dated 22 June, 1621, is exceedingly interesting, and an evidence of his judgment in detecting great ability in this young artist, then only twenty-nine years of age, whose works were subsequently so much admired by Rubens and sought after by connoisseurs. Lord Arundel was not slow to appreciate the talent of this rising artist. His letter to Carleton, acknowledging the receipt of this picture, will arrest attention; Lord Arundel's favourable opinion of its merits is a record of his judgment in matters of art. It is quite possible that this picture may not only have been seen and admired by King Charles I., but may have been the cause of that monarch's subsequent invitation to Honthorst to visit England. The letters from Lord Ambassador Fielding are also valuable as relating to the Cabinet belonging to Daniel Nys, which is no doubt the same mentioned by Evelyn in his Diary, who says,[2] "That great lover of antiquity, Thomas, Earle of Arundel, had a very rich collection, as well of medals as other intaglios, belonging to the cabinet he purchased of Daniel Nice, at the cost of ten thousand pounds."

XXIX. EDW. SHERBURN[3] TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HON^BLE^ MY VERY GOOD L.: *London*, 23 *March*, 1615-6.

* * * * *

I have attended my L. of Arundell and as yo^u^ were pleased to require me, so did I let his L^p^ knowe, that I had in chardge from yo^u^ to present y^e^ Jupiters heade unto him; and to that end I would take order to have it brought, when and where his L. should appoint. He acknowledged it as a

[2] Vol. ii. p. 240, of the 4to edition.

[3] Edward Sherburn was successively secretary to the Earl of Salisbury when Lord Treasurer, to Lord Keeper Bacon, and to the East India Company. He was also a correspondent of Carleton's for many years, for whom, likewise, he seems to have acted as agent.

speciall favor from yo^{r} L. but wth a modest deniall told me that by no meanes he would accept it, in regard it might peradventure hinder y^{e} sale of the rest, and chiefely for that (to use his owne wordes) yo^{u} had alredy made him so much bound unto yo^{u} for former curtesies, as he knewe not howe wth honor, to receave any more from yo^{u}, before he had better deserved them and therefore desired me to let it rest, untill the tilting were past and then he would speake wth me further theirin. I did likewise let his L. knowe, what yo^{u} comaunded me about the Pictures, after w^{ch} he perticulerly inquired, and seemes desirous to have them, but referred me for his resolucon as before.

* * * * *

Yo^{r} L. truly devoted & faithfully to serve yo^{u}

EDW. SHERBURN.

XXX. ED. SHERBURN TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD L.: *London, April* 9, 1616.

* * * * *

I have attended my L. of Arundell to Mr. Fortry his house, where his L. wth Mr. Inego Jones, have fully reviewed the pictures, w^{ch} are 12 in nomber, his L. referred me for his resolucon, whether he would have them or not, untill his returne from y^{e} King after the Hollydaies. His L. is nowe returned & this day I gave my attendance on him, who I perceaved is passing desirous to deale for the halfe of them, telling me that my L. Davers undertooke to take the other halfe. Those peeces w^{ch} my L. Davers hath,[4] are not any wherewth my L. of Arundell is affected: so as it nowe rests, whether my L. Davers wilbe drawne to take wth those he hath alredy so many of the rest, as may leave to my L. of Arundell the one halfe of the whole complement allowing his L. his choice: Of this, I shall understand their Lo: resolucons this weeke And therefore I am to crave from yo^{r} L. yo^{r} direccon & price, because as yet I have no perticuler comaundment to let them goe, at any certaine rate.

My L. of Arundell hath now accepted of the Jupiter's heade & hath placed it in his utmost garden so opposite to the Gallery dores, as being open, so soone as yo^{u} enter into the first Garden, yo^{u} have the head in yo^{r} eie all the way.

* * * * *

Yo^{r} L. ever to be comaunded
and truly to serve yo^{u}

EDW. SHERBURN.

XXXI. LORD ARUNDEL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract*).

MY LORD AMBASSADOR: *Arundell House, July* 20, 1616.

Though I have had a burthen of favor layde upon me by y^{r} L^{ps} comand-

[4] Sherburn had previously written to Carleton, on the 23rd March, that Lord Danvers had paid him 32*l.* for the pictures he had left with him.

ment since y^r^ departure, by Mr. Sherborne, whoe would needes place heere that greate Anticke head, w^ch^ I sawe of y^r^ L^ps^ w^ch^ I have not yet discharged by gratefull acknowledgment, I hope y^u^ will not thinke I have forgotten the obligacion, because I did not mencion it hitherto, yet nowe I could not forbeare that any longer, wee beinge to be absent from London some weekes by reason of the progresse.

* * * *

Y^r^ Lo^p^ most affectionate true frende
T. ARUNDELL.

XXXII. ED. SHERBURN TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HONORABLE: *London, April* 20, 1616.

* * * * *

This inclosed note[5] was given me by Mr. Dix, my L. of Arundell's steward, by w^ch^ yo^r^ L. may perceave howe that my L. of Arundell and my L. Davers are agreed to take y^e^ whole parcell of pictures. If y^r^ L. rest satisfied herein, I would gladly receave yo^r^ Commission and what is their price, that according to yo^r^ order, I may make delivery of them.

* * * * *

Yo^r^ L. to be coañunded and
faithfully to serve yo^u^
EDW. SHERBURN.

XXXIII. EDW. SHERBURN TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HONORABLE: *London, May* 25, 1616.

* * * * *

My L: of Arrundell is content to take all y^e^ pictures (I would he were of the same mind for the Statues) to himself, and cares not whether my L. Davers have any part of them. I shall knowe this week, a time certaine, when to attend his L. for the money, w^ch^ so soone as I shall receave, I will repay to Mr. Fortry to the use of Mons^r^ Nys, according to the direcc̃on yo^r^ L. hath given me.

* * * * *

Yo L: faithfully to serve yo^u^
EDW. SHERBURN.

XXXIV. ED. SHERBURN TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R^ LO.: *London, May* 31, 1616.

* * * * *

I have agane attended my L. of Arundell, and I expect howerly to heare from his L. about the Pictures. He told me the last weeke at Greenew^ch^

[5] I do not find this note.

that he would send for them forthwth, but as yet I have not heard from him. I have acquainted my L. Davers wth so much of M^{r} Nys his l̃re, as yo^{r} L. gave me order; and for his part in the pictures, I did not forgett to lett him knowe howe reddy yo^{r} L. was to conforme yo^{r}self to his desire: he seemes very desirous to be free from them, and my L. of Arrundell is not displeased wth it, so as I hope by th'end of the next weeke, to write unto yo^{r} L. that yo^{u} are acquitted of that burthen.

* * * * *

Yo^{r} L. ever to be comaunded
and faithfully to serve yo^{u}
EDW. SHERBURN.

XXXV. ED. SHERBURN TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD L.: *London, July* 11, 1616.

* * * * *

This day my L. of Arundell gave direc̃on to Mr. Inego Jones in my hearing to pay me one day this weeke the £200: and to receive the pictures; but I doubt I shalbe delaied, and Mr. Chamberlaine adviseth me, if they be not fetcht away according to this appointed, to send them forthwth to yo^{r} L: because he heares a rumor that yo L. gave all these pictures to my L. of Somersett, and that there are found a l̃re or 2 to approve the same; I wilbe carefull therefore to do my best to prevent such a mischeife and I am resolved if they be not paid for this weeke, to remove them to some other secret place untill I may heare from yo^{r} L:

* * * * *

Yo^{r} L. humbly to be comaunded
and faithfully to do yo^{u} service
EDW. SHERBURN.[6]

XXXVI. ED. SHERBURN TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD L.: [*London*], *July* 13, 1616.

* * * * *

I omitted in my last, to let yo^{r} L. knowe that my L. Rosse[7] hath spoiled

[6] On 20th July Sherburn writes, "I have nowe parted wth the pictures (I would I could say wth the statuas), the money being paid upon delivery of them, w^{ch} I have repaid to Mr. Fortry to thuse of Mr. Daniel Nys." Also, "I receaved his Highness' Privy Seale for the payment of the £250 according to the Contract y^{r} L^{p} hath made for the Modells" [for Prince Charles].

[7] On 12th October, 1616, Chamberlain writes to Carleton, "The L. Roos is gon for Spaine very gallant, having sixe foot men, whose apparelling stoode him in £50 a man, eight pages at £80 a peece, twelve gentlemen to each of whom he gave £100: to provide themselves, some twenty ordinarie servants who were likewise very well apointed, and twelve sumpter clothes that stoode him in better than £1500. All his other provisions were sutable, and he went in a very goode and fayre ship of the Kinges, called the Dread-nought. He is growne very great wth Secretarie Winwood,

the sale of yo^{r} Statuas, because after all his paines and chardges bestowed in collecting and gathering togeather such antiquities of this kind as he could get in his travailes, he hath nowe in an humo^{r} (& I may say an ill one) given them all to my L. of Arundell, w^{ch} hath exceedingly beautified his L. Gallerie.

* * * * *

Yo^{r} L. ever to be comaunded
and duly to love and serve yo^{u}
Edw. Sherburn.

XXXVII. ED. SHERBURN TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Right honorable my very good Lo: *London, November* 1, 1616.

* * * * *

The cheife busines that nowe wee have heere, is the preparacõn for the Prince his creacõn, w^{ch} doth hold on Monday next, and this day my L. of Arundell had the honor to be made Erle Marshall during the tyme of this ceremony and some do say it may be longer ; his M. hath also bestowed upon his L. all my L. of Somersett's pictures, w^{ch} are valued at the least worth £1000.

* * * * *

Y^{r} Lo^{p} truly devoted to honor and serve you,
Ed. Sherburn.

ACCOUNT OF THE EARL OF SOMERSET'S COLLECTION.

The following account of pictures, marble figures, &c., is in the handwriting of Sir Dudley Carleton. It will be found to contain all the works of art specified in the "Contents of the 2 Cases with Pictures," dated 25th April, 1615 [p. 274] in which is included the pictures in Daniel Nys' list of 8th February, 1615 [p. 275] purchased by Carleton, also the "Contents of the 29 Cases with antique figures and heads of marble."

XXXVIII. ACCOUNT OF SUCH THINGS AS I [SIR DUDLEY CARLETON] HAVE BOUGHT FOR THE EARLE OF SOMERSET.

Three pictures, whereof one was of the hand of old Bassan, the other two of Paulo Veronese	£100	0	0
A parcel of pictures and marble figures	500	0	0
An other parcel of pictures which are not yet arrived .	100	0	0
Three looking glasses	51	10	0

---

in so much that the world sayes he relies more upon him then his father Lake. At parting he sent him a very fayre present of plate, better worth then £200. Yt seemes he is very desirous to buy frends, for he gave the Earle of Arundell all the Statues he brought out of Italie in one clap, and reposeth such confidence in him that he hath left in his hands all the entailes of his land and other writings of greatest moment."

One parcel of Cutwoorke sent abowt 8 monthes since .	£20	0	0
Other parcels as appeares by a particul[r] note . . .	81	10	0
One parcel miscarried as appeares by y[e] marchants letter .	7	7	4
One parcel bespoken w[ch] is yet in y[e] workewoemens hands at Venice	30	0	0
	£890	7	4

The port is not accounted.

[*Translated from the Italian.*]

XXXIX. CONTENTS OF TWO CASES WITH PICTURES MARKED WITH A COUNTERMARK AND PUT ON BOARD THE SHIP CALLED THE CHARITY, DANIEL BANNESTER, MASTER, AND CONSIGNED TO LONDON TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS SIG[R] PACQUIER, [?PARKER] SECRETARY TO THE EARL OF SOMERSET.[s]

Venice, April 25, 1615.

In the larger case are :

The Susanna of Tintoretto.
The Benediction of Jacob of Tintoretto.
The Queen of Sheba of Tintoretto.
The Samaritan Woman of Tintoretto.
Ceres, Bacchus, and Venus, of Tintoretto.
The Labyrinth of Tintoretto.

In the smaller case there are :

3 pieces, by Paul Veronese, the Life of Hercules.
1 piece, by Bassano Vecchio, the Beheading of St. John.
1 piece, by Titian, Venus, very rare.
1 piece, by Schiavone, Shepherds.

Expenses :

For 2 great Cases	l.	50	0
4 Mats to keep them from the water	l.	16	0
Carriage to the vessel	l.	8	12
	l.	74	12d.

The creation of Bassano Vecchio.
Two poetical histories in . . . . .
two several tables of Paul Veronese.

---

[s] Payed for assurance of Pictures in the Mary-gold, of London, from Venice, by my Lordes apoyntment . . £ 7 s. 9 d. 6
Charges layed out for the taking up, clensing, and delivering them to the Earle of Somersett, at Whitehall . 3 18 0
Rec[d] in full satisfaction this 15 of June, 1615, Ed. Blount. £11 7 6

[*Translated from the Italian. Indorsed by Carleton.*]

XL. DANYEL NYS HIS LIST OF PICTURES.[9]

Y^e 8 *of Feb^y*, 1614-5.

The Susanna of Tintoretto.
The Benediction of Jacob of Tintoretto.
The Queen of Sheba of Tintoretto.
The Samaritan Woman of Tintoretto.
Ceres, Bacchus, and Venus, of Tintoretto.

There are :

5 by Tintoretto, at D^ts^. 80 each	D^ts^. 400
3 by Paul Veronese, the Life of Hercules, at D^ts^. 67 each .	200
1 by Bassano Vecchio, the Beheading of St. John . . .	90
1 The Venus of Titian	70
1 by Andrea Schiavone, Shepherds	40
	D^ts^. 800

The Study of Marbles just and conformable to the Bill delivered . . . . . D^ts^. 2000

[*Translated from the Italian.*]

XLI. CONTENTS OF THE TWENTY-NINE CASES WITH ANTIQUE FIGURES AND HEADS, OF MARBLE, MARKED WITH A COUNTER-MARK, AND PUT ON BOARD THE SHIP CALLED THE HANDMAID, HENRY BEALE, MASTER, AND CONSIGNED TO LONDON TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS GIO. PACQUIER [? PARKER], SECRETARY TO THE EARL OF SOMERSET.

In case No. 1 are :

54. A Picture of Apollo, entire. A Boy on a Dolphin.
55. A Picture with various figures.
the hand brought from Troy, also of his Excellency.

In case No. 2 are :

53. An Urn, the Sepulture of the Ashes of the Ancients.
160. A little torso of a Satyr.

In case No. 3 are :

49. The head of the great Jupiter.
27. A little Bacchante with the breast.
104. A Hercules.

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[9] In an account of "His Excellency [Sir Dudley Carleton] to Daniel Nys" the following entries will be found :—"For the Creation of the Animals of Old Bassano, 220 D^s^. [see ante p. 52, note 82]. For two large pictures of Paul Veronese, 200 D^s^." The total account is 535 D^s^.

In case No. 4 are :

G. Figure of Diana.
Y. A Boy holding his hand behind him ; it goes in place of the Venus which is broken.
50. A Love recumbent.

In case No. 5 are :

F. Figure of Diadumena.
101. Cupid.
105. Socrates.

In case No. 6 are :

B. Figure of Hostilianus.
+106. Head of Ganemede.
+109. A Jupiter.
+107. A Satyr.
—1012. A Satyr.
—111. Esculapius.

In case No. 7 is :

A. Figure of Drusus.

In case No. 8 is :

E. Figure of Brutus.

In case No. 9 are :

C. Figure of Marcus Agrippa.
N. Figure of the Goddess Security.

In case No. 10 are :

D. Figure of the God Genius.
R. Figure of the Goddess Pomona.

In case No. 11 is :

56. A Picture of two Figures, who extend their hands.

In case No. 12 are :

V. A Boy in Arab dress.
T. A Boy who holds a Duck.
Q. A Figurette of Abundance.
60. A great Inscription.

In case No. 13 are :

51. A recumbent Love.
52. A ditto.

In case No. 14 are :

+46. Head of Marcus Agrippa.
+42. Head of Livia.
—43. Head of Decius, young.
+163. Head of an infant.

In case No. 15 are:

+1. Head of Philip of Macedon.
+2. Head of Adrian.
—18. Head of Maximinius.

In case No. 16 are:

—41. Head of Clodius Albinus.
+42. Head of Brutus.
—48. Justice.
—17. Head of Elia.
—22. Satyr.
+200. Head of Julia, drowned?

In case No. 17 are:

—12. Head of Claudius.
—13. Health.
—35. Head of Cicero.
—6. Head of Brutus.

In case No. 18 are:

—23. Head of Otto.
—7. Ala, Consul.
—45. Head of a Youth.

In case No. 19 are:

+4. Head of Germanicus.
+9. Domitius, father of Nero.
—36. Caligula, in youth.

In case No. 20 are:

—28. The head of Tiberius.
—39. Livia, large, with the Chest.

In case No. 21 are:

—29. Head of Caligula.
—38. Head of Nero.
—25. Head of Galba.
—20. A little Head of Artemis, with the Chest.

In case No. 22 are:

+30. Head of Marcus Aurelius.
—16. Head of Geta.
—8. Head of Antoninus Pius.

In case No. 23 are:

—37. Head of Julius Cæsar.
+24. Head of Augustus.
—5. Julia, daughter of Augustus.

In case No. 24 are:

F. Figure of a Woman holding in her hand a Chalice.
H. Figure of Flora.
P.P. Half Head of a Satyr.

In case No. 25 are :

X. Boy laughing, with a Dog.
Z. Figure of a Niobe.
S. Figure of Diana.
O. Figure of Pallas.
—208. A Satyr.

In case No. 26 are :

—31. Head of Domitian.
—33. Head of Caracalla.
—102. Head of Trajan.
110. Pallas.

In case No. 27 are :

L. Figure of the Goddess of Peace.
Y. Boy holding one (qy. Goddess of Peace) in his hand.
16. A little Torso of a Satyr.

In case No. 28 are :

—11. Vitellius.
—19. Head of Drusus.
—26. Young Drusus.
—15. Piety.
—10. Young Augustus.

In case No. 29 are :

M. Figure, pointing with the finger,
P. Figure of a Youth, who also points.
61. A great Torso.
62. A smaller Torso.

In a mat :

59. Boy, half relief.

In a mat :

58. Boy, leaning on foot.

In a mat :

57. A Cuirass.

Without wrapping :

49. Pedestal for the Head of Jupiter.
49. Slab of Stone to place between the Pedestal and the Head of Jupiter.

Here follow the Charges :

For 29 cases, at l. 6 each	l. 174	0
For incasing and packing the marbles to Antonio Fachin di Fontigo	24	0
For Packing-up and Nails	19	0
For Mats and Straw	10	12
Porters to carry them	16	0
Lighter to take them to the ship . . .	20	0
	l. 263, s. 12	

XLII. ED. SHERBURN TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD L.: [*London*], *March* 29, 1617.

* * * * *

I have acquainted my L. of Arundell [10] w^th^ Mr. Nys his letter, and I have direccõn from his Lo: when y^e^ shipp doth arrive heere, to deliver y^e^ pictures to Mr. Inego Jones in his absence, his Lo: beinge nowe gon after the King.

* * * * *

Y^r^ L. faithfully to serve yo^u^,

EDW. SHERBURN.

XLIII. ED. SHERBURN TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HONORABLE: *London, August* 23, 1617.

* * * * *

I am much called upon by Mr. Inego Jones for those pictures w^ch^ Mr. Nys his lre, did long since put us in hope, would have arrived heere before this tyme.[11] My L. of Arrundell, and my L. Chamberlaine [Earl of Pembroke], being now upon their returne hether, I am sure, I shalbe questioned by their L^pps^ for them, and therefore I would be glad to have direccõn from y^r^ L. what to say, in excuse, for I feare by Mr. Jones his speeches to me, their L^ps^ are not well pleased to be so long out of their monies and coñodities.

* * * * *

Y^r^ L^ps^ most assured and faithfully to be comaunded by you,

ED. SHERBURN.

On 7th November, 1617, Sherburn writes: "As for y^e^ Pictures I can tell yo^r^ L. that my L. Chamberlaine and my L. of Arundell do very well approve them, and have devided them to their contentment."

XLIV. LORD ARUNDEL TO SIR D. CARELTON.

MY LORD: *Arundell House, September* 17, 1619.

I HAVE received from y^r^ L^p^ a very fine Bason of Stone w^th^ an Ewer alla

[10] "On y^e^ 2 January 1616-7, y^e^ Earle of Arundels house at Greenwich was burned, and som rich moveables in it; though not to y^e^ valew as is coñonly reported, w^ch^ y^e^ papists say did happen because he receaved y^e^ coñunion on christmas day last, w^ch^ he much protested he did in detestation of pope and al poperie."—From London, 14 Jan. 1617.

[11] On 2 June, 1617, Daniel Nys writes [*in French*] from Venice to Carleton: "I will get ready the small pictures of the best masters which your Excellency desires for yourself, and will send them as soon as possible; he hopes it will not be inconvenient for His Excellency to pay for the rest of the marbles and statues." Again, on 28 July, "He hopes before he receives this that the ship 'Unicorn' will have arrived at London with his pictures, and will thank H. E. to pay for them and the statues."

Anticha, for w^{ch} I must give y^{u} very many thankes & am sory, y^{u} remember me soe much to y^{r} chardge ; I heare likewise, by many wayes, howe carefull yo^{r} Lo^{p} is to satisfy my foolish curiosity in enquiringe for the peeces of Holbien. For the other little thinges, w^{ch} I entreated S^{r} Edwarde Cecill to informe him selfe of, I thought it unmanerly to distracte y^{r} Serious affayres wth them & besides y^{r} Lo^{p} soe apprehends all occasions to forerunne my desires as I shoulde rather wish to be able to deserve some of y^{r} olde favors then loade y^{u} wth newe trobles ; soe wth my service to y^{r}selfe and y^{r} worthy Lady & my best wishes I ever reste

Yo^{r} Lo^{ps}
most affectionate frend to comande,
T. Arundell.

XLV. THE EARL OF ARUNDEL TO SIR THOMAS ROE.[12]

My Lord Ambassador : *Arundell House, December* 9, 1622.

I must give y^{u} many thankes for the greate care w^{ch} I perceive y^{r} Lo^{p} hath (amidest y^{r} more serious affayres) taken of the businesses w^{ch} I recoñended unto y^{u} concerninge Antiquityes, w^{ch} I finde every way & have received the Medalle of Alexander w^{ch} y^{r} Lo^{p} (I thanke y^{u}) did send me & I doe much valewe. For y^{e} stone y^{e} M^{r} of the Shippe could not finde it, & I was y^{e} lesse troubled for the wante of it, in respecte y^{r} Lo^{p} wrote it had noe gravinge upon it. I must nowe earnestly intreate y^{r} Lo^{p} that y^{u} will not only continewe y^{r} former care, but procure to the bearer heereof Mr. Jhon Markham, a very honeste Gentleman & much my frende, such coñandes from Constantinople, to enable him or such as he shall employ to finde Antiquityes, to doe it safely & wthout interruption, as likewise that y^{u} will favor his owne person, whoe I assure my selfe will deserve it. For myselfe y^{u} say I am still full of burdens & requestes unto y^{r} Lo^{p} w^{ch} y^{r} owne kindnes bringes upon y^{u}. All I can say is noe man is gladder of y^{e} greate honor & service to o^{r} K. & nation that y^{u} doe then my selfe, nor none shall wish y^{u} better then

Y^{r} Lo^{ps} very affectionate true frende
Arundell & Surrey.[13]

[12] Sir Thomas Roe received instructions as Ambassador to the Great Mogul on Dec. 29, 1614, and full powers to treat with Persia on Feb. 4, 1617. His credentials to the Grand Signor are dated Sept. 6, 1621, his instructions the 9th, and he left Constantinople on June 4, 1628, in the same ship in which his successor, Sir Peter Wyche, had arrived. He was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the States General on June 28, 1629; from thence he was accredited to Stockholm. Was sent in July, 1641, Ambassador to the Emperor. He died Nov. 6, 1644, and two days afterwards was privately buried at Woodford, Essex.

[13] The Earl of Arundel had previously written to Sir Thomas Roe on this subject. It is a curious fact and worthy of note that neither of these nor any of the letters printed by Samuel Richardson in "The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe" are to be found in the State Paper Office, nor are any of Roe's letters preserved in the State Paper Office printed in that volume. I find, however, a "List," made by Richardson, which embraces the greater portion. It is therefore evident, by his dedicating the *First Volume* to the King, that he purposed printing the remainder. The four

XLVI. THE EARL OF ARUNDEL TO SIR THOMAS ROE.

My good Lord: *Arundell House, September* 10, 1624.

I pray excuse my not writinge unto yo^{u} of late & doe not impute it to want of affection unto yo^{u} to whome I am much beholdinge, for the greate

letters from Roe to Arundel, which are printed in Roe's Negotiations (pp. 16, 154, 444-6, 495) form so interesting a part of this correspondence that I cannot avoid reprinting them. The first is dated from Constantinople, January 27, 1621-2.

My Lord:

I received your Lordship's letter in the Downes; and though my imployment bee the other end of the circle, to attend new things; yet myne owne inclynation is curious enough, to my meanes, to look back upon antiquity, and some learnings lost and decayed, rather, as I think, *ex industria*, then by the moth of tyme; in which opinion, the little examination I have made in these parts, confirms me; where I find the gentlest arts and sciences rather despised and neglected, then worne out; as if they were meanes to soften and civilize those natures, whose end and proposition is warr, blood, and conquest: Yet hereby I find no difficulty in procuringe any such reliques, if I could discover them; for I think they would here follow the precept of a barbarous Goth, not to destroy, but leave and deliver them to us for our corruption, to divert us from the thought or use of arms: But they are absurdly mistaken; for civility and knowledge doe confirme, and not effeminate good and true spirits: Therefore I could fall easily upon another consideration, how terrible this overgrowne state is to all Christendome, that knowes it not but by universall report, which, not examining particulars, never judgeth aright; but this occasion serveth it not; and I fear, at best, it were lost labour. Howsoever, I have little experience; yet I dare pronounce there is no such terror, if we knew them and how to proceed with them: and there never was any great empire so unarmed, and so easy to destruction; nor never any time so seasonable as now: And of this I dare undertake to make demonstration, if ever I be called to it. But now I desire only to give your Lordship an accompt of the care I have of your Lordship's commands. I moved our consul, Richard Milward, at Scio, whom I found prepared and ready: Wee conferred about the maid of Smirna, which he cannot yet obteyne, without an especiall command. I brought with me from Messina, the bishop of Andre, one of the islands of the Arches, a man of good learning and great experience in these parts. Hee assured mee, That the search after old and good authors was utterly vaine; that neither in Greece, nor in any other place subject to the Grand Signor, were left so much as the footsteps or ruines of any antient learning. The last French Ambassador had the last gleanings; only of some fewe he gave mee notice, as of an old Tertullian, and a piece of Chrisostome in manuscript, which may be procured to be copied, but not the originall. Hee hath undertaken to make enquiry for mee; and the fruict of my labour your Lordship shall freely partake. Concerning antiquities in marbles, there are many in divers parts, but especially at Delphos, unesteemed here; and, I doubt not, easy to be procured for the charge of digging and fetching, which must be purposely undertaken. It is supposed that many statues are buried, to secure them from the envy of the Turks; and that, if leave obteyned, would come to light, which I will endeavour as soone as I am warme here. Coynes wilbe had from Jewes, but very deare when enquired for. Two are given me by Dominico to present to your Lordship, which I have delivered Antony Wood, captain of the Rainbow; the one gold, is of Alexander; the other is brasse, and very antient, of a Queen of Servia, with hieroglyphicks now unknowne. I have also a stone taken out of the old pallace of Priam in Troy, cutt in horned shape: but because I neither can tell of what it is, nor hath it any other bewty, but only the antiquity and truth of being a peece of that ruined and famous building, I will not presume to send it you; yet I have delivered it to the

care y^{u} have taken in enquiringe for such thinges as I desired y^{r} Lo. to doe, w^{ch} faulte I will nowe amende, & to beginne doe putte y^{u} to a newe trouble,

same messenger, that your Lordship may see it and throw it away. At Scio I found divers rare peeces of white corall, the gatherings of a dead English Gentleman, in the hands of our Consull; which, because I thought they would well affect you for fountaines (your Lordships curiosity being unlimitted) I advised him to send, which I think you shall receive by this shipping. What other services I can doe your Lordship, I will not fail, by uncerten promises; but I shall endeavour to give you a better testimony, then profession, that I am a lover of those vertues which have made me

Your Lordship's Servant,
Tho. Roe.

Extract from another letter to the Earl of Arundel.

Constantinople, $\frac{1}{11}$ *May,* 1623.

My Lord:

I have receaved from your Lordship two favours, in that you please to command mee any service: and though these tumultuous tymes hinder mee from an exact performance, and such as might give your Lordship full assurance of my readiness; yett I doubt not you will accept of what I can, and, in your wisdome, consider, that the distractions here breed feares, and needless jealousies; and the daily mutations of officers give us some frends, some foes, all so full of trouble, that I scarce live safely, much lesse in power to doe your Lordship, or the generall, service. To give you accompt of somwhat: The command you required for the Greeke to be sent into Morea, I have sollicited two viziers, one after the other; butt they both rejected mee, and gave answere, That it was no tyme to graunt such priviledges; Nor, if I had obteyned them, would they have bene of any use, where there is no obedience, nor estimation of their kinge; but every pety officer exacts, and makes use of his place, to gett money. The reasons given mee, were grounded upon needless suspitions, that such a command might bee used to view the sea coast, and to take some advantage upon the discovery. And I have found they are very fearfull of some revolt in these parts, or, at least, of some enterprise from the Spaniards: so that, not without some offence, the motion was received.

Neare to the port they have not so great doubt, and therfore I have prevailed for another, sent Mr. Markham, assisted with a letter from the Capten Bassa, whose jurisdiction extends to all the islands and sea-ports; the copy whereof I herewith send your Lordship that you may see it is sufficient, though not so large as was mentioned by a copy sent mee: but hee hath so good experience in this cuntry, that hee knowes how to make use of it; and that some things by him required, were impossible to obteyne, as beeing against their law and customes: such as it is, I beseech your Lordship to take in good part; and to beleeve, that it was very difficult to procure so much; and I hope the effects therof will content you. Antiquities in gold and silver, of the antient Greeks, from Alexander downward, and many Romans more antient, are here to be gathered; but so deare, by reason the last French Ambassador made great search, and some Italians are ready to buy, that I know not whether your Lordship will esteeme them at such rates. The meddles of gold, or olde quoyne, if they bee faire, and the inscriptions ledgible, are held at twice and thrice the waight. Some, for curiosity, I have bought, with others pretended to be Ægiptian, Armenian and Arabian; but my skill is not great, I judge only by the eye; these shall serve your Lordship, if you like them. I may also light of some pieces of marble by stealth; as now I am offered a lyon to the wast, of pure white, holding a bull's head in his claws; butt the very nose and mouth is defaced, the rest very faire, and they say, *à l'antique;* I have not yett seene it, butt expect it howrely, if the shipp meet it not: it was taken up at Lampsacum in Natolia. On Asia side, about

w^ch is, to recoñende unto y^u, one Mr. William Pettye,[14] a man of very good learninge & other partes whoe hath bin longe in my House & is ledde w^th a greate desire to see Turkye. My earnest requeste is unto y^r Lo^p to give him all y^e favor & direction y^u may, to see what antiquities eyther of bookes, medalles, or stone w^ch may be founde, & that where he shall desire to travell y^r Lo^p will directe him for safetye as much as may be, for he doth not only love antiquityes extremely but understandes them very well. What favor y^r Lo^p shall doe him I shall very thankefully acknowledge. Soe w^th my best wishes I rest ever

Y^r Lo^ps very affectionate frend
ARUNDELL & SURREY.[15]

XLVII. SIR THOMAS ROE TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL.

Constantinople, May $\frac{1}{11}$, 1625.

MY LORD:

SINCE y^e arrivall of Mr. Pettye, wee have done little but looke abroad and consult, w^ch way to procure such things as shalbe found ; w^ch is verye difficult here, and must bee done w^th great warines. I am constituted by his Grace y^e Duke of Buck: a factor for him in such Antiquityes as I can fynd ; wherein I had little sckyll, and continuing in one residence should not see many : but I have sent to divers places, and Mr. Petty is now going into y^e Arches, and along y^e sea coast : his experience wilbe my best direction, what to gett, yet I presume his grace would not command mee to woorke upon y^t advantage, nor y^r L^p thincke it a breach of promise in mee, to doe y^t service to his Grace, w^ch I owe him. The case then stands thus, Mr. Petty may fynd, and choose, but hee cannot gett them, nor bring them away, y^t must bee left to mee ; so y^t wee must bee both interessed in any great matter. Therfore trusting y^t his Grace will approve yt I have honestly moved to joyne in all chardges, and y^t y^e Collection by his advise, and my creditt y^t wee can make, shalbe putt into one stocke, and divided by some caven course when they come in to England : this motion hee doth approve,

Troy, Zizicum, and all the way to Aleppo, are innumerable pillers, statues, and tombstones of marble, with inscriptions in Greeke ; these may be fetcht at charge and secrettly : butt yf wee ask leave it cannot be obtayned; therefore Mr. Markham will use discretion, rather then power, and so the Turks will bring them for their proffitt.

I know the worth of Mr. Markham, now our Consull, so well, that I should wronge my selfe, if in all things I gave him not his due : butt being recommended as one your Lordship respects, it shall oblige mee to all particular offices of frendshipp ; and therof, I hope, hee shall in tyme give testimony.

THO. ROE.

[14] William Petty, M.A., was the uncle of the famous Sir William Petty, the founder of the Lansdowne family. He was chaplain to the Earl of Arundel, and was beneficed in the Isle of Wight.—'Walpole,' vol. ii. p. 146.

[15] On Dec. 26, 1623, Locke writes to Carleton : "There was a great muttering that the E. of Arundell should be sent to the Tower and it was sayed that there was a warrant made for the purpose, w^ch sould have bin signed, but there is nothing done, he signeth lres done at the Boord if they be brought to him, but cometh not so frequent to Councell as he used."

if it bee also accepted of y^r L^p and I hold yt to bee very equall to avoyd emulation and prevention, and as it is not amiss for his Grace, who hereby shall have good things, such as hee hath ; so I take yt also to bee a service to y^r L^p, because hee can procure little w^thout me, espetially if I seeke at y^e same tyme. If then his Grace to whome I have written, and y^r L^p accept herof, wee desire a speedy answere, y^t wee may conforme therunto, if not, as I will endeavor to give his Grace y^e best satisfaction I can, so I protest to y^r L^p I will deale fayrelye, and no way cross, but further Mr. Petty in any thing hee shall propound for y^r service. And to y^t end I have procured him, w^th very much adoe, in these Jealous tymes a good Command, having altered it three tymes after it had y^e signature of y^e Grand Signor. I doubt not Mr. Petty hath enformed your L^p of y^e tables upon Porta Aurea here in in this Cyttye, wherof I have made a dull discription to his Grace : I will endeavor, though they stand in so eminent a place y^t I doubt they will not bee gotten, to take 4 of them downe, to bee divided betwixt y^w, and if y^r L^ps so agree wee will follow y^t course, and herein, because ther may bee no exceptions taken hereafter, w^ch I seeke to avoyd, and to stand *rectus in curia ;* o^r meanings are to make y^e division only of all such pieces, wherin both shalbe really interessed, hee by his discovery, and procurement by my assistance, and I by getting any thing by his direction in his absence, which is I am sure y^e harder taske, such things as wee fynd apart, to bee left to o^r severall directions. In this, and all other things, I have been ready to do y^r L^p service, and him al manner of curtesyes in my power, w^ch I doubt not hee will testefye, and so submitting myselfe to y^r L^p favor I humbly take my leave, &c.

THO. ROE.

XLVIII. THE EARL OF ARUNDEL TO SIR THOMAS ROE.

MY VERY GOOD LORD : *Whithall, May* 10, 1625.

I HAVE received divers letters from y^r Lo^p wherein I see much kindnesse expressed by y^u towardes me, & am exceedingely gladde to heare, as I doe by those w^ch came later to my handes, that Mr. Pettie is safely arrived at Constantinople, after soe much cause of doubte of his well doinge : I muste only nowe reiterate my former suite unto y^r Lo^p that (as he writes unto me howe very much I am beholdinge unto y^u for y^r noble care of him & furtherance in all his occasions) soe that y^u will continewe, & whereas he hath certified me of sixe fine peeces of Stories in a wall at Constantinople w^th some other antiquities, soe I must intreate y^r Lo^p by all the love & respecte y^u beare me, that y^u will helpe me w^th them. I knowe eyther for some crownes to y^e Bashawe, they may be had, or els stollen for mony by y^e Turkes, they caringe not for them ; but the way I leave unto y^r Lo^ps consideracion. And I beseech y^r Lo^p helpe me to gette what soever Mr. Pettie shall fall upon for me, for as I doubte not but an hundred times more antiquities are to be found in those partes then will serve us soe what soever I shall deale for I desire to goe singly & w^th dispach And w^th my best wishes I rest ever

Y^r Lo^ps most faithfull frende

ARUNDELL & SURREY.

All y^e best newes from hence is, that o^r good Kinge Charles, whome God hath happily sette in y^e throne of his blessed Father is goinge to meete his newe Queene. God give them both all happinesse.

XLIX. THE EARL OF ARUNDEL TO SIR THOMAS ROE.

My good Lord: *Whithall, May* 12, 1625.

I write y^e effecte of this letter unto y^r Lo^p double, leaste one of my letters showlde miscarrye, all is to give y^u many thankes for y^r good newes of Mr. Petties safe arrivall after feare of y^e contrary & y^r kinde usage of him since his arrivall at Constantinople & assistance in procuringe antiquities for me, He hath written me worde of sixe antiquities in a wall, as allsoe a victory in an other parte of a wall, w^ch I doe conjure y^r Lo^ps by all loves, that y^u will helpe to procure for me presently; mony I knowe there will doe any thinge & I am willinge to bestowe it. For antiquities I am confidente those partes are able to furnishe infinite more, then will serve all Englande, and therfore am resolved that Mr. Pettie shall search only for me, because he knowes what will fitte me beste. Therfore I beseech y^r L^p to assiste him in what soever he shall finde for me, as allsoe w^th all comandes for search & security in his travell, as y^r L^p hath most nobly promised me, soe w^th my best wishes to y^r Lo^p I rest ever

Y^r Lo^ps most affectionate true frende
Arundell & Surrey.[16]

[16] The following [printed in "Roe's Negotiations," p. 444—6] is an answer to this and the preceding letter :—

Constantinople, Oct. $\frac{20}{30}$, 1625.

My Lord :

I have received recompense enough for more service then I am able to doe your Lordship, by your acceptance of that little I have a desire to doe, expressed in your two letters of the 10th and 12th of May. If myne of the 1st and 25 of the same moneth, bee arrived, I hope they have given your Lordship more satisfaction : since which tyme I have bene able to doe nothing here, beeing fledd untill the last weeke, from the great contagion, that hath carried away in this citty, and the suburbs, neare 200,000 people. Mr. Petty this while hath visited Pergamo, Samos, Ephesus, and some other places ; where he hath made your Lordship greate provisions, though hee lately wrote to mee, hee had found nothing of worth. Your Lordship had good experience in a man for such an imployment, that spareth no paynes nor arts to effect his service. When hee departed, I hoped wee had bene joyned, and that hee would have acquainted mee freely with his proceedings : but hee hath therein deceived mee ; for I now perceive, your Lordship (by way of prevention) hath resolved to bee alone ; and Mr. Petty, in this space, hath prevented mee, upon confidence, to have sent one with or before him, and hath advised mee, hee can find nothing. I am so assured in your Lordships integrity and wisdome, as I dare write you playnly according to my nature. I have done for Mr. Petty whatsoever was in my power, by giving him forceable commands, and letters of recommendation from the patriarch. I have bene free and open to him, in whatsoever I knewe, and so I will continue for your Lordships command : but your Lordship knowing, that I have received the like from his grace the Duke of Buckingham, and engaged my word to doe him service, hee might judge it want of witt, or will or creditt, if Mr. Petty (who could doe nothing

L. THE EARL OF ARUNDEL TO SIR THOMAS ROE.[17]

My good Lord: *Arundell House, September* [26], 1626.

I thanke y^{u} very hartily for y^{r} kinde letters & am very confidente of y^{r} greate love & respecte to me, w^{ch} I make noe doubte but y^{u} will ever

but by mee) should take all things before or from mee. Therefore to avoid all emulation, and that I might stand cleare before two so great and honorable patrons, I thought I had made agreement with him for all our advantages. Therefore wee resolved to take downe those sixe mentioned relevos on *porta aurea*, and I proceeded so farre, as I offer'd 600 dollers for 4 of them, to bee divided betweene his Grace and your Lordship by lotts. And if your Lordship liked not the price, Mr. Petty had his choice to forsake them; but now I perceave hee hath entitled your Lordship to them all, by some right, that if I could gett them, it were an injury to divide them. Your Lordship shall never find mee to write you an untruth, nor dissemble the truth: Mr. Petty did not discover them. When I carried him to the Patriarch, and there discoursed with him, what places were like to furnish us with old statues; hee told mee of those on *porta aurea*, and wished mee to goe see them, though hee thought the difficulty would bee great to procure them. Whereupon I, having no skill, sent a Janizary with Mr. Petty to view them; upon whose report of liking them, I went with him a second tyme; and so wee resolved to take them downe, if possible, and I was not only content, but desirous your Lordship should have halfe: and so I assured him, though I both must bee the meanes to gett them, and to disburse the mony, which I would willingly doe for your Lordship. And this beeing the truth, and I remayning constant in the same resolution, I hope your Lordship will well accept it. Since, hee wrote mee another letter, in manner renouncing them at that price, and advising mee not to spend above 200 dollers for all sixe. It seemes, hee beeing better provided at Pergamo, or willing to leave these for a better occasion, was content I should not meddle with them: but when I answered him, hee knewe I had made lardger offers, and if hee refused, would take them for my owne account, and yet in England offer your Lordship your part, hee then wrote mee, That he would not leave his interest in them, nor yet encourage mee what to spend to procure them: but I am sorry wee strive for the shadowe. Your Lordship, beleeve an honest man and your servant, I have tryed the Bassa, the Capteyne of the Castle, the overseer of the Grand Signors works, the soldiours that make that watch, and none of them dare meddle: they stand betweene two mighty pillars of marble, in other tables of marble, supported with lesse pillars, uppon the chiefe port of the citty, the entrance by the castle called the Seaven Towres; which was never opened since the Greeke Emperour lost it, but a counterscarfe and another wall built before it. The vizier dares not, for his head, offer to deface the chiefest port, so many will clamour against him: the capteyne of the castle, nor the overseer of the walls, cannot doe it without a speciall command from the Grand Signor: the soldiours cannot steale them beeing 30 foot, and 40 foot high, made fast to the walls with iron pinns; and must bee lett downe with scaffolds and the help of at least 50 men; for if they fall, they will breake to dust, the ground being so thinne and worne with age. There is then but one way left in the world, which I will practice; and if I can procure them your Lordship shall know my service by the part I send you without Mr. Petty or any other helpe. Within the

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[17] See *ante*, note 13, p. 280 [" Roe's Negotiations," p. 495]:—

My Lord: *Constantinople, March* 28, 1626.

My last letters brought your Lordship the advice of Mr. Pettyes shipwracke, and losses upon the coast of Asya, returning from Samos: his commands and letters of

expresse upon all occasions. For Mr. Pettie, he hath often written unto me, howe favorably & kindely y^r Lo^p hath used him, & I assure y^r Lo^p both he, & I for him, are very sensible of y^r kindnes therein, & I must intreat y^r Lo^p to excuse him if he want courtshippe especially nowe, when his desire to shewe his love to me & my House, I make accounte takes up his whole time; as y^r L^p writes I thinke he is very fittely composed to be a searcher of thinges of that nature, w^{ch} he hath now putte himselfe unto, I pray God his successe may proove aunswerable unto his good will & paynes & I doe earnestly intreate y^r Lo^p to continewe to assiste him w^{th} y^r favor, in procuringe coñandes & such thinges, as he shall be a

castle, and on that gate, is a continuall watch of 20 soldiours: it is the Kings prison; and how hard it were to take downe such things, of at least a tonne weight apeece, from the Tower-gate of London, your Lordship will easily judge. And if I gett them not, I will pronounce, no man, nor ambassador, shall ever bee able to doe it, except also the Grand Signor, for want, will sell the castle.

After all these disputes for nothing, Mr. Petty hath advised mee, that retorning from Samos, where hee had gotten many things, going to Ephesus by sea, hee made shippwrack in a great storme upon the coast of Asia; and saving his owne life, lost both all his collection of that voiadge, and his commands and letters by mee procured, desiring mee to send him others, or else, that hee can proceed no further. Hee was putt in prison for a spy, having lost in the sea all his testimonyes; but was released by the wittness of Turks that knew him. From thence he recovered Scio, where hee furnished himselfe againe; and is gone to the place where hee left his boate to fish for the marbles, in hope to find them, and from thence to Ephesus; and this is the last newes I heard from him. To renew commands so often, gives great jealousy to these people, having taken out 3 in little more than a yeare, for your Lordship: so that with much adoe and by force of a bribe, I have againe procured another, and more large, for your Lordship, which is nowe by mee, and shalbee sent to Mr. Petty, so soone as I know where he is: though I have written to him to leave the sea, and to spend this winter with mee, where hee shalbee welcome.

In conclusion, I desire your Lordship to bee assured, that as I cannot faile of my duty to my Lord of Buckingham, so I will doe your Lordship that service, that shall witnesse for mee my affection thereto. I will in all things assist Mr. Petty, and seeing I must goe alone in this business, I will search all Asia, but I will find somwhat worth my labour. My mysery is, using others, I must take badd and good; and I have things sent mee from divers places, figures indeed, that cost me much, but not worth the portage. When I have done my best, and alone, your Lordship shall have somwhat from mee, that you shall knowe I would have dealt fairely, and that I had a syncere purpose to meritt your Lordships favour.

* * * * *

Your Lordships most humble and affectionat Servant,
Tho. Roe.

recommendation and his labors together there perished. The first I presently renewed, and sent them to Smyrna: and the other, I thincke, he hath by great industrye, since recovered. From that tyme, what adventures hee hath passed his owne enclosed will give best satisfaction: and it shall suffice mee to say in gross, that, although he will not boast to mee, yett I am informed hee hath gotten many things rare and antient. There was never man so fitted to an imployment, that encounters all accidents with so unwearied patience; eates with Greekes on their worst dayes; lyes with fishermen on plancks, at the best; is all things to all men, that he may obteyne his ends, which are your Lordships service. He is gone to Athens, whither also I have sent; and from thence promiseth mee to visitt this citty,

suitor unto y^u for, & as he directes all his labor of collectinge for this House alone, w^ch I must never thinke to breake but keepe entire, soe I shall very thankefully accepte y^r Lo^ps kinde offer in havinge a share, in such other thinges as the industry of those whome y^r Lo^p employes shall produce & shall keepe them distinguished in my House, by themselves, as a memory of y^r Lo^ps love to me & my Family, w^ch I shall endeavor to deserve in any thinge I may. Soe w^th my best wishes to yo^r Lo^p & yo^r good Lady, I rest ever

Y^r Lo^ps most affectionate true frende,
ARUNDELL & SURREY.

I send this by Sea, because I thinke it be a safe way, hopinge my former letters be longe since come to y^r Lo^ps handes.

To my hono^ble freind S^R THOMAS ROE, Kn^t,
Ambassador for his Ma^tie at Constantinople.

LI. SIR THOMAS ROE TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL.

MY L^D: *Constantinople, February* 17, 1626-7.

IT is now 3 moneths since I heard of Mr. Petty from Athens, being then returned from a search of divers cyttyes in Morea, where he hath gotten many Marbles, such as will give y^r L^p great satisfaction. I suppose he will ship them for Zant & after I know not how he will dispose of himselfe.

wher I shalbee glad to enterteyne him, and to know the history of his labors. I have in my endeavour bad success, by the ignorance of those that I am forced to employ, who send mee heavy stones at great chardge, that proove newe images, wher I secke old idolls; for such also were the Roman statues of their Emperors. From Angory I had an hal-woman brought, 18 dayes by land, upon change of mules, which wants a hand, a nose, a lip; and is so deformed, that shee makes mee remember an hospital: yet the malicious Turkes brought trouble on the buyers, by a false command, accusing them of a great wealth stollen out of the castle; it hath cost mee mony to punish them, and that is all I have for my labor. I have sent three servants togither to Tassos, Cavalla, Philippi, and all the coast of Thrace; followed Mr. Petty to Pergamo and Troy; am digging in Asya; and to fulfill the proverb, turning of all stones. Somwhat I hope to gett, to save my creditt; but I dare not write to his Grace, untill I am in possession: so often I have beene by Greekish promise deceived. Those on Porta Aurea stand up, ready to fall, in spight of all my arts and offers; the tymes are so dangerous that I dare not venture to entreague others; but ther is an opportunity attended to make them stoope: the glorye of taking them from the gate of Constantinople inciteth mee farther then any bewtye I see in ruines, that only showe their was once bewty, good emblemes of one that had beene a handsome woman, if an old woman were not a better; yet few love them. When I have made my collection, I will not forgett that I was engaged by your Lordships commands: as I am assured your Lordship will not grudge mee to performe the service I owe the Duke of Buckingham, betweene whom, and your Lordship, if ther had beene an union, there had nothing beene difficult to us both here, and many things much cheaper.

* * * * *

Your Lordships most ready Servant,
THO. ROE.

I have heard from a Spachye y^t^ he resolved on a voyadge to Corynth, to buy two statues, one entyre, y^e^ other wanting y^e^ head, w^ch^ were discovered to him for me, pretending y^t^ he was employed by me, & by y^t^ meanes he had first knowledge of them, but I may not beleeve so discurteous proceeding, though certeyne I am, he leaves nothing, nor since y^r^ L^ps^ order not to joyne, would never concurre in any participation w^th^ me. Notw^th^standing y^t^ I had received Commission from my L^d^ Duke of Buckingham to buy for him, wherein my creditt is engaged, yet I have not spared to renew his Commands, and to send them at my owne chardge, & to doe him all pleasure, & give him all assistance in my power, w^ch^ I doubt not he will freely acknowledge: but fynding him so wholy alienated, & singular, I have been enforced at great expence to send my servants into all parts, where after him I feare I shall have but poore gleaning. If we had joyned, both might have done more at less chardge, because I am enformed of many brave things, buried in divers places of Greece, w^ch^ by a disjoynted inquirye grow deare and I have none so expert & industrious, able to doe y^t^ w^ch^ his sckill & labour doth performe: for I thincke hardly any man can match him in patience, travell, & cunning to obteyne his ends. If I doe heare further of him, I will continew to show my respect to y^r^ L^p^ by all wayes to me possible, & I hope y^t^ in y^e^ end both of us shall fynd o^r^ contentment: & y^t^ he will not grudge me some fruict of great paynes & expence, having professed both to y^r^ L^p^ & to him, y^t^ I would express y^e^ realitye of my desire to doe y^r^ L^p^ service, by somwhat of my owne finding, besides y^e^ strength I have given him, w^ch^ he useth sometyme to my disadvantage, & w^th^out w^ch^, he could have carried nothing away. The Patriarch sent me this enclosed letter to y^r^ L^p^. I suppose an answere to y^rs^ brought by Mr. Petty. I heare my stay in this Cytty wilbe very short, if before my returne I shall receive any of y^r^ L^ps^ commands, I will give y^u^ a good account of them & if my industrye prove happy, I shall demonstrate y^e^ sinceritye of my proceedings. In y^e^ meane tyme I wilbe confident y^t^ I shalbe preserved in y^r^ L^ps^ favour, as he y^t^ desires to be found

Y^r^ L^ps^

Most humble servant,

THO: ROE.

LII. SIR THOMAS ROE TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL.

Constantinople, July $\frac{20}{30}$, 1627.

RIGHT HON^BLE^ MY VERY GOOD L^D^:

WITH the enclosed letter from Mr. Petty I received another from y^r^ L^p^ dated in Septemb. last, full of y^r^ favour, in acceptance of y^t^ little service I have beene able to doe you: which hath beene far short of my humble affections, if I had not beene engaged by great obligations of duty. Yet I will not prove so barren as to pay my thanckfullnes to y^r^ L^p^ only in wordes; when I returne I will render some fruicts of my profession, w^ch^ I know you will vouchsafe to accept according to y owne noble nature. What course Mr. Petty meaneth to take I presume hee hath advised y^r^ L^p^ only intimating to me y^t^ hee will returne to Greece, to meete a

servant of myne who is in search of y^e^ same Comodityc. There hath beene some emulation rather then discontent betweene us, and as I did not looke for much Courtship from a Philosopher, so I did not expect some other requitall of my curtesies to him. But all he doth, is for y^r^ L^ps^ service, to w^ch^ hee is so true and affectionate, y^t^ I will not consider other, then his zeale to y^t^. Hee chalengeth two marbles bought by him at Athens, which is true, y^t^ hee bargayned, and gave earnest, and so I have given order, that if hee returne thither, hee shall have them for y^r^ L^p^ or if my man have found meanes to send them away, that hee shall pay for them, and dispose them ether to Mr. Petty or to Zant, to y^r^ L^ps^ use. Further I have taken out for him a new Command, and given directions to my servant, when hee hath finished y^t^ for w^ch^ I sent him, that hee shall leave Mr. Petty all his strength friends, commands, and letters, and in y^e^ meane tyme to lett him use them as for himselfe, for my purpose is not of y^t^ latitude to make a generall Collection, but to fetch away some statues of w^ch^ I have beene enformed in Corynth, Lacedemon, and Achaya; and often abused in y^e^ information. There is enough under ground, if our licenses would extend to digge: but I worke by y^e^ Turkes themselves, and buy, or it were too dangerous a Trade in Turky. In y^e^ rest I will doe Mr. Petty all helpe, and service, and show it y^r^ L^p^ in effects as one y^t^ is most ambitious to concurr in y^r^ noble dessignes, and to be truly esteemed, &c.,

THO. ROE.

LIII. SIR D. CARLETON TO LORD ARUNDEL. (*Extract.*)

Hagh, June $\frac{12}{22}$, 1621.

RIGHT HONORABLE MY MOST SINGULAR GOOD LORD:

HAVING wayted lately on y^e^ K. & Q. of Bohemia to Amsterdam, I there saw y^e^ picture of Holbens yo^r^ L^p^ desires: but cannot yet obtayne it, though my indeavours wayte on it, as they still shall doe. Wee have now a yong man[18] growing into reputacon in these parts who began w^th^ Bloomer[19] of

[18] Gerard Honthorst, who was born at Utrecht in 1592, and was a pupil of Abraham Bloemart. He visited Rome and other parts of Italy, and painted pictures for Prince Justiniani and several persons of distinction. Sandrart highly commends a picture of the "Decollation of St. John" by torchlight which he saw at Rome in the church of the Madonna della Scala. He also mentions another in the Justiniani Gallery, "Christ brought before Pilate." After his return to Holland he visited England in 1628 and won the favour of Charles I., especially by an allegorical picture in which the King and Queen of Bohemia are represented in the character of Two Deities, and the Duke of Buckingham as Mercury introducing the liberal arts to them. For this composition the King gave him 3000 florins, a service of plate for twelve persons, and a beautiful horse. He also received £210 in money [see the King's Sign-Manual of 30 March, 1631 at p. 295]. He afterwards instructed the Queen of Bohemia and her daughter, the Princess Sophia, in drawing. He excelled in representing figures by candlelight, whence he obtained the name of Gerardo dalle Notte. Rubens was a great admirer of his paintings in that style [see ante, p. 67]. He established himself at the Hague, with the title of Painter to the Prince of Orange, whose pleasure house he adorned, and died in 1660, aged 68.—*Descamps*, i. p. 403: *Pilkington's Dict. of Painters.*

[19] Abraham Bloemaert was born at Gorcum in Holland in 1564, according to Hou-

Utrecht (where he dwells likewise) & hath bene for some yeares at Rome & other parts of Italy to mend his art : w^ch^ consisting much in night works, he desired of me an invention to my minde wherby to make tryall of him in y^t^ w^ch^ I might rest assured was no copie. I gave him Æneas flying from y^e^ sack of Troye, & in a posture *pariter comctique onerique timentem ;* wherin how well he hath acquitted himself yo^r^ L^p^ wilbe best able to judge by y^e^ peece w^ch^ wilbe delivered yo^r^ Lo^p^ by this bearer & w^ch^ I will beseech you to accept as it is : yt is w^th^out exception to y^e^ good will of y^e^ presenter what defect soever yo^r^ L^p^ shall observe in y^e^ skill of y^e^ painter.

* * * * *

Yo^r^ L^ps^ most humble and
most faithfull servant,
D. C.

I doe now send a picture at full length of y^e^ yong Prince Frederic Henry (whome wee have here at this present w^th^ the K. & Q.) to His Ma^y^: w^ch^ wilbe presented by my L^d^ of Buckingham. I shall gladly know Yo^r^ L^ps^ opinion of y^e^ worke, for y^e^ life & likenes wee all here thincke y^t^ Michel of Delph[20] hath not bene so happy in any other picture this many a day.

LIV. LORD ARUNDEL TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

My good Lord : *Whithall, July* 20, 1621.

I have received w^th^ y^r^ kinde letter a fayre picture of Æneeas flyinge out of Troy, in w^ch^ I assure y^r^ Lo^p^ I thinke the painter hath expressed y^e^ story

braken, in 1567 according to Sandrart. He was endowed with great genius for painting, but was most unfortunate in his masters, who were all *médiocres.* M. Mols has a list of five artists of this name who were received *Maîtres* in the Confrerie of St. Luc between the years 1516 and 1696. Bloemaert left his own country at the age of sixteen, and went to Paris, where he remained, however, but a very short time, and returned through Utrecht to Amsterdam. Descamps mentions several pictures which he painted for the Emperor and persons of quality. He died at Utrecht in 1647. The Duke of Orleans has his "St. John Preaching in the Wilderness."—*Descamps,* tom. i. pp. 246—248.

[20] Michel Mirevelt was born at Delft in 1568. He was placed at an early age with Jerome Wierinx, a skilful engraver, but evincing a greater inclination for painting, was placed under Blocklandt. His reputation soon spread abroad, and Charles I. wished him to visit England, but the plague prevented his accepting that honour. He was looked upon as a most celebrated portrait painter, and it is said painted more than 10,000 portraits, including the Princes of Nassau and the Archduke Albert. He died at Delft, which place he never seems to have left except to visit the Hague, on 27 August, 1641, aged 73. All his portraits are good likenesses and well finished.—*Descamps,* tom i. pp. 256—258.

Carleton writes from the Hague to Chamberlain on 1 May, 1616, "Michel of Delph hath ben w^th^ me, and remembers you well by a picture of yours I have of Tintoret's hand. My old pieces both he and others doe much approve but for the new, *figul*^a^ *figulū.*"

On 13 Sept. 1628, Dudley Carleton writes from the Hague to Secretary Lord Dorchester, "Mr. Michael the painter doth *festinare lenté* to dispatch y^r^ L^ps^ pictures of the Pr. and Princesse of Orange but he promiseth I shall have them now owt of hand."

w^th^ much arte & both for the postures & y^e^ colouringe, I have seene fewe Duch men arrive unto it, for it hath more of y^e^ Itallian then the Flemish & much of y^e^ manor of Caravagioes colouringe, w^ch^ is nowe soe much esteemed in Rome ; soe as it hath noe fault but only that it is too good a present for me, but since y^r^ Lo^p^ thinkes it not soe, I doe receive it w^th^ many thankes, & will esteeme it amongst y^e^ many argumentes of y^r^ love & kindnes w^ch^ I have formerly received from y^r^ Lo^p^.

* * * * *

Y^r^ Lo^ps^ most assured frend to coñand,
T. ARUNDELL.

LV. SIR ISAAC WAKE TO WILLIAM BOSWELL. (*Extract.*)

MY DEARE FREND & SWEET HART: *Turin*, *November 26,* / *December 6,* 1628.

* * * * *

The picture after w^ch^ you do seeme to enquire was made by Hans Holben in y^e^ time of H. 8. and is of a Count of Moretta : My Lord of Arundel doth desire it, and if I can get it at any reasonable rate he must and shall have it.

* * * * *

Y^r^ faithful frend & servant,
I. WAKE.

LVI. SEC. LORD DORCHESTER TO DUDLEY CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

GOOD NEPHEW: *January* 26, 1628-9.

* * * * *

I have given order for the paym^t^ of such bookes as I have in note from Van Vene[21] but his Emblemata Horatiana [1] are not so ample for the verses written upon them in divers Languages, as those I had from Brussells, and from thence. Whereas three exemplars are reckoned unto me both of those Emblemata and others Amorum,[2] and the sette infantes de Lara,[3] I had but two onely of each sort, according whereunto I make payment. There restes a small picture of Torentius hand, which is of two little rũmekins,[22] for which, when I know it is demanded, I will send the moñie.

[21] See ante, p. 2, note 5. This allusion to Rubens' third and last master, Othon Van Veen, has no little interest. Alfred Michiels, in "Rubens et l'école d'Anvers," pp. 51—2, speaks of the singular mania there was about this period for designing allegories on the most trivial subjects, and in which Van Veen also shared. They were engraved upon wood or copper, published with letter-press, and called *Emblemata*. Michiels prints the titles of nine of these whimsical books by Van Veen, among them are those mentioned in the above letter:—(1) "Horatii Flacci emblemata, cum notis latinè, italicè, galicè, et flandricè," 103 planches ; (2) "Amorum Emblemata," with inscriptions also in four languages ; (3) "Historia hispana septem infantium Larræ," cum 40 iconibus.

[22] Rumkin, i.e., a drinking cup. Torrentius was famous for painting objects of still life [see Appendix J, p. 347, note 62].

And you must understand that the King understanding I made it when I came hether with other pictures as a present, will not restore it me againe. Wherefore you must aggree for it with Van Vene at the best account you may, and I will satisfie it. I have received a lre from Honthorst,[23] unto which I send you the answer. He hath a peece of worke for me wherein I pray you quicken him and send it with the soonest.

* * * * *

[DORCHESTER.]

LVII. THE EARL OF ARUNDEL TO SIR HENRY VANE. (*Extract.*)

GOOD MR. COFFERER: *Arundell House, April* 25, 1629.

* * * * *

I must likewise give y^u^ very many thankes for y^r^ care concerninge Blomes[24] Paintinge & booke of Holbien, & the Kinge protestes agaynste any medlinge w^th^ it, at sixe hundred poundes, w^ch^ he sayes coste him but twoe hundred. For the drawinges I hoped to have had them for £30, but rather then fayle, as I tolde y^u^ I would go to £50, but never thinke of £100, nor £50 offered w^thout sure to have it; If he would let it come, upon security to send it backe, I should be gladde, if not, let it rest.

* * * * *

Y^r^ most faithfull frende to comande,
ARUNDELL & SURREY.

LVIII. SIR FRANCIS COTTINGTON TO ENDYMION PORTER.

S^R^: *Porchmouth, November* 2, 1629.

I HAVE receaved yo^r^ lres w^th^ my Lo. of Arundells note; I wyll deliver the Conde his and serve my Lo: of Arundell y^e^ best I can. I wyll inquire for thos pictures of the Conde de Benevente; and indevor to gett allso thos of Titian, w^ch^ I left in y^e^ Palace y^e^ last time.

This is y^e^ day of my imbarcation [for I am going abroad] the wind is good to carry us away if we can gett out. Remember my servis to M^ris^ Porter and God keepe you all.

Yo^r^ humble servant
FRA: COTTINGTON.

To my hon^ble^ frend Mr. ENDIMION PORTER, one of his Ma^ties^ Bedchamber.

[23] It is dated from Utrecht, 29 December, 1628, and relates to a picture of the Queen of Bohemia and all her children, which Honthorst was about painting for King Charles I. It will be found, with several other letters from Honthorst, which are preserved in the State Paper Office, printed by Carpenter in the Appendix to his "Life of Van Dyck."

[24] Abraham Bloemart. Dudley Carleton writes to Sir Dudley Carleton on $\frac{15}{25}$ Oct., 1626, "The Queen of Bohemia coming unto Utrecht and visiting the house of Blomaert a famous painter, shee there found a true originall picture of her dog Babler w^ch^ shee hath bought & intends to send it you by the first that you may give your opinion."

[*Inclosure in Endymion Porter's hand.*]

A note of such things as my Lord Embassator S^r^ Francis Cottington is to send owt of Spaine for my Lord of Arondell: and not to forget the booke of drawings of Leonardo de Vinze w^ch^ is in Don Juan de Espinas hands, whoe everie man at Madrid knowes, and Vizente Juarez best, whoe is the wenches father that sings soe well.[25]

[Here follows a list of various comestibles, &c.]

LIX. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SECRETARY LORD DORCHESTER.

(*Extract.*)

Hagh, July 6, 1630.

RIGHT HON^BLE^ MY VERIE SINGULAR GOOD LORD:

* * * * *

Y^r^ L^ps^ pictures are begun at Utrecht in part by severall masters; but haveing spoken w^th^ Honthorst abowt the prises, he tells me they will cost 200 gilders a pecce and being 8 in number, that will amount to a great deale of money; wherefore I have suspended the worke, to heare y^r^ L^ps^ pleasure first. The designes are taken owt of Homers Odisses, and such parts of the story taken, as sute best w^th^ the hand and fancie of so many severall masters.

* * * * *

Y^r^ L^ps^ most humble servant to be commanded,
DUDLEY CARLETON.

In a letter to Secretary Dorchester, dated September 6th, 1630 [printed by Carpenter], Honthorst says that he has commissioned the most esteemed painters of our City [Utrecht] to execute the pictures, two of which will be by his own hand, that he has taken the subject of Ulysses, and has agreed for 200 florins each, "being a reasonable price."

LX. DUDLEY CARLETON TO SECRETARY LORD DORCHESTER.

(*Extract.*)

Rotterdam, January 3, 1630-1.

RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY SINGULAR GOOD L^D^:

* * * * *

I send my L^d^ Tresorer [Weston] a picture of Honthorsts hand; one of the best that ever he made: and I hope it will facilitate my payments.

I shall send y^r^ L^ps^ pictures in the end of this monthe.

* * * * *

Y^r^ L^ps^ most humble
and most affectionate servant,
DUDLEY CARLETON.

[25] Extract of a letter from Madrid, dated 27 April, 1630, to Endymion Porter. "I have redd y^r^ letter to S^r^ Robert Wine, in spanish, to D^a^ Fran^ca^ and her father, thay ar all exceding glad to heere from you, and that his Majesty dothe please to remem-

The following Sign Manual, dated 30th March, 1631, will show the amount that was paid to Honthorst for the picture, supposed to be the one which now hangs on the Queen's staircase at Hampton Court. [See Carpenter, p. 180.]

LXI.

CHARLES R.

Charles by the grace of God &c. To the Trēr and undertrēr of o^{r} exchequer for the time being, greeting. Whereas by o^{r} lrēs of Privy Seale, bearing date at Westm^{o} the eighteenth day of May in the sixth yeare of o^{r} Reigne, We gave warrant for paym^{t} of the soñe of two hundred and tenne pounds owt of o^{r} exchequer unto Gerrit Van Honthorst or his Assignes, in satisfaccōn of a picture of o^{r} brother and Sister the King and Queene of Bohemia and theire Children by him made and sent unto us, as by the said lrēs of Privy Seale more at large appeareth. And forasmuch as o^{r} trustie and right welbeloved Counsello^{r} S^{r} Henry Vane Kn^{t}, Comptroller of o^{r} houshold, in his last Ambassage into the Lowe Countries, did disburse and pay unto the said Gerrit Van Honthorst the said soñe of two hundred and tenne pounds, as appeareth by an acquittance under the hand of the s^{d} Gerrit Van Honthorst, Wee will and coñand you, of o^{r} treasure remayning in the receipt of o^{r} s^{d} Exchequer forthwth to pay, or cause to be paid unto the said S^{r} Henry Vane Kn^{t}, or his Assignes, the said somme of two hundred and tenne pounds in full satisffaccōn of the like soñe so by him disbursed as afores^{d}, and wthout accompt, imprest, or other charge to be sett upon him or them for the same, or anie parte or parcell therof. Provided that o^{r} s^{d} former lrēs of Privy Seale for the paym^{t} of the said money unto the said Gerritt Van Honthorst be cancelled and made void, to the end we be not doubly charged wth the paym^{t} therof. And theis, &c. Given, &c.

This Conteyneth Yo^{r} Ma^{ts} warrant to the exchequer to pay unto Sir Henry Vane Kn^{t}, Comptroller of yo^{r} Household, the soñe of £210 w^{ch} he disbursed unto Geritt Van Honthorst in his last Ambassage in the Lowe Countries, w^{ch} said soñe was due unto the said Gerritt Van Honthorst for a picture of the King and Queene of Bohemia and theire children by him made, and sent unto Yo^{r} Ma^{ty}, as appeareth by a Privy Seale, w^{ch} yo^{r} Ma^{ty} was pleased to grant in May last past, for the paym^{t} of the said money to the said Gerritt Van Honthorst. And is done by order of the Lord Viscount Dorchester.

Windebank.

Ex apud Westm^{o}. tricessimo die Martii Anno R. Caroli septimo.

Windebank.

ber them, I alsoe doe rejoice the suttle ayer of Madrid has infus'd a new strengthe into his ingenious lines. Hee atributs it to D^{a} Fran^{ca} whose angelicall voice has farr more power to give life to all creturs sensetive and vegitative then ever Orpheus silver stringed lyra had, for hee sayes none ever came to have rationall sowles if thay receav'd them not from her mouth, a power only reserved to her from eternitye."

LXII. B. GERBIER TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL.[26]

Brussels, $\frac{\textit{January}\ 30,}{\textit{February}\ 9,}$ 1632-3.

My singular good Lord:

I received your Exc: letter of the first of this month w^th^ increase of joy since I have the honour to be remembred. I will watch how some drawings may be found, though good cheape I cannot promise; for if thinges are deare in Holland, they are dearer here where tulip and cockle-shells-lovers are as full of trickes as le Blon[27] who can buy Marchandise w^th^ other mans moneyes, as I verily thinke he hath those thinges in his handes w^th^ the money of my most deare and ever to be honnered late Lord: I was once le Blon's friend while I thought him an honest man, but since he is changed, much lesse can he be mine (as Your Ex: termes him) considering his foolish & Amsterdam-like carriadge to soe noble a Patron of vertue as your Exc: to whom I shall not be troublesom in my barren language though it be from the hart of

Your Exc: &c.

B. Gerbier.

LXIII. LORD BASIL FEILDING[28] TO SEC. SIR JOHN COKE.

Venice, March $\frac{8}{18}$ 1634-5.

Right Hon^ble^:

The Cabinett of Daniell Nice, w^ch^ is said his Mat^ie^ is about, is in a third hand for the assurance of a French Merchant, to whom is due 16^m^ crownes, who has forborne a long time to breake itt open, and pay himselfe, till he shall be certified of his Ma^ties^ intentions, that if his Ma^tie^ shall not proceede, he may have liberty to take his owne advantage; In the meane tyme he presses hard to see the Cabinett opened, and desires me to be present att itt, fearing that there are not all the jewells and pictures of valew in itt, to satisfie his debdt, or that they are pawn'd in some other place for some other debdt: I beleive his jealousies are not well grounded, w^ch^ moves me to hinder him as farr as lies in my power from satisfying his curiosity, till I shall have order how to carry myselfe; w^ch^ I beseich your Honor to send me upon the next occasion, least the Marchant with the justice of his cause

[26] Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Queen of Bohemia, the States-General and the Prince of Orange on the death of the King of Bohemia, 26th December, 1632, and was sent Ambassador Extraordinary to the Emperor at Vienna, 4th April, 1636. He was created Earl of Norfolk, 6th June, 1644, and died at Padua, in 1646.

[27] See *ante*, p. 65.

[28] "A Bill for my Extraordinaries—Basill Lord Feilding, his Ma^ties^ Ambassador Extraordinary humblie craveth allowance for £700: to be made him for Extraord^ies^ from the 11^th^ of November, when he departed from Paris, to the 23^rd^ of January, when hee left Turin, by vertue of his Ma^ties^ Privie Seale bearing date the 16^th^ September, 1634—£400 allowed. John Coke."

prevaile, and offer some injury to that w^ch^ perchance his Ma^tie^ has an intention to buy: Thus I take my leave, and remaine

Your Honors
most humble servant,
B. Feilding.

LXIV. SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK TO LORD FEILDING. (*Extract.*)

My Lorde: *April* 3, 1635.

* * * * *

I am likewise comanded by his Ma^ty^ to let y^r^ L^p^ know, that wheras Daniel Niz, a Merchant heere, hath a Cabinet of sondry curiosities of great valew at Venice, & deposited in the handes of certain Holland merchants, whose names are Oloffs & Van Needen, that yo^r^ L^p^ use yo^r^ best intervention w^th^ that State that the said Cabinet be not opened, but be reserved shutt till the retourne of Daniel Niz: his M: intending to buy it of him for his own use.

* * * * *

F. Windebanke.

LXV. LORD FEILDING TO SEC. SIR JOHN COKE. (*Extract.*)

Venice, May $\frac{8}{18}$, 1635.

Right hon^ble^:

* * * * *

I will use the best meanes I can to hinder the opening of the Cabinett of Daniell Nice, w^ch^ being deposited for the security of a French Marchant, the French Ambassador hath taken both him, and his cause into his protection, and hath moov'd me in his behalfe, that I would certifie him of his Ma^ties^ resolution to buy that Cabinett, w^ch^ I can only as yet conceave to be but in his Ma^ties^ intentions; that if there should happen anie change in his Ma^ties^ desires, that the Marchant might not faile of a speedy information, that he may seeke, by the way of justice, to right himselfe of the wrongs he pretends to have bene done him by Daniell Nice.

* * * * *

Your Honors
most humble and most affectionate Servant,
B. Feilding.

LXV.* LORD FEILDING TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK. (*Postscript.*)

Venice, May $\frac{18}{28}$, 1635.

I have taken such order, as Daniel Nice his Cabinett shall remaine untouch'd, untill his Ma^tie^ shall signifie his further pleasure.

LXVI. LORD FEILDING TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK. (*Extract.*)

Venice, February $\frac{13}{23}$, 1636-7.

Right Hon^ble :

* * * * *

The Cabinett of Mr. Nice, w^ch by your orders I formerly mov'd the Colledge to suspend the sale of itt till his Ma^tie had left of his intention of buying itt, is to be solde to my Lo. of Arundell, the bargaine being in a manner concluded, w^ch though I make no question, but his Ma^ties consent goeth along with itt, Nice assureing me that the King had left him to his owne liberty, yett I cannot but give all impediments to the removeing of itt from hence, till your Honor shall acquaint me with his Ma^ties farther pleasure therein.

* * * * *

Your Honors
most humble and affectionat servant,
B. Feilding.

LXVII. LORD FEILDING TO SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK. (*Extract.*)

Venice, August $\frac{11}{21}$, 1637.

Right Honorable :

I receivd your Honors letter in confirmation of the former order I had of using all diligence for the redeeming of Daniell Nys his Cabbinett, the which I have not been wanting in, as well to expresse my earnest desire to serve my Lord Mareschall, as to obay your Honors commands.

* * * * *

Your Honors
most humble and most faithfull Servant,
B. Feilding.

LXVIII. THE EARL OF ARUNDEL TO LORD ASTON.[29]

Noble Lorde : *Hampton Court, January* 19, 1636-7.

I had forgotten in my letter unto y^u, to entreate y^u, that if y^u meete w^th a collection of matters of Arte w^ch were of Antonio Perez, y^u be pleased to deale w^th them for me, accordinge to what I recomẽnded unto y^r Lo^p formerly concerninge any matter of Arte, for w^ch I will willingly lay out mony. I remember an Office booke w^th many pictures of liminges in it, w^ch both my Lo: Cottington & Mr. Hopton had longe in theyre handes for me,

[29] Walter Lord Aston's Instructions as Ambassador to Spain, are dated 9th June, 1635. He left Madrid, 18th May, 1638, and was succeeded by Sir Arthur Hopton, see *ante*, p. 157, note 214. Aston had previously been Ambassador to Madrid in 1622, in conjunction with Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, also from 1625 to 1629.

but did not buye it. If it may be had for a small matter, I shoulde be gladde to have it, or any of y^e^ like nature. I beseech y^u^ be mindfull of D: Jhon: de Spinas booke, if his foolish humor change. Soe w^th^ my best wishes to yo^r^ Lo^p^ I remayne

Yo^r^ Lo^ps^ faithfull frende to coñande,

ARUNDELL & SURREY.

LXIX. THE EARL OF ARUNDEL TO LORD ASTON. (*Extract.*)

MY VERY GOOD LORD: *Hampton Court, January* 24, 1636-7.

SINCE I wrote unto y^r^ Lo^p^ by Mr. Fanshawe,[30] understandinge, by a stranger come hither, that there are many Peeces of Antiques in Marble, both whole Statuaes & lesse peeces, in an House in Madrid, w^ch^ belonged to y^e^ old Duke of Lerma, w^ch^ might nowe be had at very easy rates, I thought good to entreate y^r^ L^op^ that they might be seene by some & the lowest prices gotten, that, if they might be easily come by, they might be bought for me. I conceive by what I heare of Spayne, that the lesse y^r^ Lo^p^ appeare in it y^e^ better, but worke by secondarye meanes.

* * * * *

Yo^r^ Lo^ps^ most affectionate friend to coñand,

ARUNDELL & SURREY.

APPENDIX C.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON'S ANTIQUES, STATUES.

THE Antique heads and statues, which form the subject of the following papers, were received by Carleton out of Italy, [see ante, p. 23]. George Gage, in a letter dated October 1617, [ante, p. 24], tells Carleton, that he has "delivered to Sig^r^ Rubens what y^r^ L. wrightes concerning y^r^ heades and statuaes," and a Correspondence will be found, in a previous part of this volume, which took place between Rubens and Carleton in consequence. This ended, in May 1618, by Carleton disposing of his Collection to Rubens for certain Pictures. The chests were sent from Venice to London, and from thence to the Hague; and if the "Note of y^e^ Statues," which is in Carleton's hand, is not *the identical Inventory* asked for by Rubens, [see ante, p. 27], it is probably a list of them, as sent from London to Carleton at the Hague.

[30] Richard Fanshaw, Secretary to Lord Aston, and subsequently Sir Richard, was sent by King Charles II., Ambassador to Spain; his commission is dated 14th January, 1663-4, and he arrived at Cadiz the $\frac{26\text{th February}}{7\text{th March}}$ following.

LXX. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. (*Postscript.*)

Brussels, $\frac{\textit{August } 30,}{\textit{September } 9,}$ 1616.

Mr. Wake, at his departure for England, left order wth Mr. Coram for the conveyinge of your Cæsars, and I hope your L^{p} hath them 'ere this.

[*Translated from the French.*]

LXXI. FRANCIS ENGELGRANS TO SIR D. CARLETON.

Antwerp, September $\frac{4}{14}$, 1616.

My Lord Ambassador:

This present will serve, after kissing your Excellency's hands, to advise you that I send you by the Bearer John Cornelise, Mariner, a chest containing eighteen Portraits of Emperors, and that it may please you to pay to him 10 florins, which I have paid for the freight of these eighteen pieces. Having nothing more to say I pray God that you may enjoy a long and happy life

My Lord,

Your humble servant,

Francis Engelgrans.

LXXII. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO JOHN CHAMBERLAIN. (*Extract.*)

S^{R}: *Hagh, February* 20, 1616-7.

* * * * *

It is now long since you made mention in y^{r} lrẽs of S^{r} Michael Dormer.[31] He had, as I remember, certaine heads and small statuas of stone, in one of his galleries, for w^{ch} I would gladly send him armes, or what he likes best in this countrey, yf he will part wth them: for since I am by mischance made a master of such curiosities, I desire to perfect my cabinet as well as I may. I pray you remember me very kindly to him and speake wth him to this purpose. So I comitt you to God's holy protection, ever resting,

Y^{s} most affectionatly,

Dudley Carleton.

LXXIII. SIR D. CARLETON TO J. CHAMBERLAIN. (*Extract.*)

Goode Mr. Chamberlain: *Hagh, March* 25, 1617.

* * * * *

I will trouble you no further about S^{r} Michell Dormers antiquities, since they are no other then as you write; and yf the report of one here had

[31] S^{r} Michæl Dormer [cousin to Sir Dudley Carleton] dyed the last weeke of his olde disease, the palsie, being suddainly strucke; and S^{r} John Dormer is his heire." Dudley Carleton to his uncle Sir Dudley. London, 30th Sept. 1624.

not moved me to seeke after them, as things of much esteeme, I had not thought of them ; for my owne curiositie, when I frequented his house, reached no further then his mill-poole ; and yet being now engaged (as you know) in this kinde of conñoditie, I must doe what I can to increase my store against a good mart, the rather *because I finde some of my owne heads wanting, and those of chiefe note in my memorials ;* w^ch^ I speake not of because I would not discredit the remainder : but intend when I see Ned Sherburne (yf I see him at all in these parts) to sett him uppon the search for them, they being purloyned ether in the custome house, or in the stiliad ; for all the chests that were sent from Venice came well to London ; and as many as were sent from thence were safely delivered here. So as what is lost must be where they should have bene safest. I am advertised that Ned Sherburne hath gotten a new condition of Secretarie to the new L^d^ Keeper.

* * * * *

Y^rs^ most assuredly,
DUDLEY CARLETON.

LXXIV. ED. SHERBURNE TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HONORABLE MY VERY GOOD LO: *London, April* 25, 1617.

* * * * *

Mr. Inego Jones did meete me the other day & demaunded whether the pictures for my L : Chamblaine, & my L. of Arundel whereof yo^r^ L. wrote lately unto me were arrived, but I told him, as yet I heard nothing of them. He prayes yo^r^ L. when yo^u^ write next, to send him a Catalogue what they are, that he may be sure to receave the right ones. And nowe I mencõn pictures, I cannot but tell yo^r^ L. howe much it greives me, that I am so infortunate (notw^th^standing all my care & circumspeccõn) as to be suspected for a dishonest man.

I find by Mr. Chamberlaine, that yo^r^ L. hath advertised him that *many of yo^r^ principall & cheife heades of yo^r^ Antiquities are missing,* & imbeisilled from thence, where yo^u^ conceaved they should have bin most safe. To make my apologie for this I neede not, neither will I, because I can aunswere, & that truly, that since the landing of them at y^e^ Stilliard (where beside myselfe many of yo^r^ L : owne servantes were presente) and since they were plac't there, by yo^r^ selfe, not any one of them hath bin impaired. And from thence I can answere likewise, that they were all and every part & parcell of them safely pack't up in my viewe & presence, not stirring from thence, from y^e^ first begining of their packing, untill they were finished, nailed & hooped. And yet more, I left them not heere, but went w^th^ them on Shipboard, and there likewise remayned, untill I had seene them all safely stowed under the hatches ; so as howe it is possible (the keyes never being out of my custody) and the doore having two severall lockes) that any of them should be wanting, I cannot well imagine. Nevertheles I thought good to take notice of it to y^r^ L., not doubting but yo^u^ will free me from having so base a thought, much more from doing so vile an Act, w^ch^ further to assure I wilbe redy, & dare do it upon a safe grownde, to take my corporall oathe that not one peece of them, since they were in my

chardge, suffred either losse or hurt: I well remember, when yo^{r} L. first did compare the Catalogue of them, by the figures made on the severall statuas, all agreed not wth the note, & then (if I mistake not) yo^{u} said there was some wanting, w^{ch} was either lost or left behind, unpackt at Venice, or ells miscarried while they remayned at the Custome house; for from y^{e} Stilliard it was impossible, wthout my knowledge or privity, whereof (as I hope to be saved) I am guiltles, and so I beseeche yo^{r} L: beleeve of me.

* * * * *

Yo^{r} L. ever to be comaunded
& faithfully to do yo^{u} service,
EDW. SHERBURN.

[*Indorsed in Carleton's hand, "Note of y^{e} Statues."*][32]

LXXV. A NOTE OF THE STATUAS AS THEY ARE PACKED UP IN THE SEVERALL CHESTES, MARKED AS IN THE MARGANT.

The Chestes.

NO.

1. A great figure marked A: and three little heads unmarked.
2. A head marked 10: a head marked 36: a body marked 61: a head marked 24: a little head marked 107: a little head marked 108.
3. A boy figure marked Y: a boy wanting leggs & armes, a woman's head unmarked, a body unmarked, a head marked 106: halfe a foote.
4. A head marked 38: a head marked 37: a head unmarked, a halfe body unmarked, a pedestall.
5. A great figure marked B: a Satures [*sic*] head marked P: P: a head marked 104: a head marked 13: a head marked 43: a boy ryding upon a dolphin marked W: a foote.
6. The Great Urna: 2 very small heads wth a small figure of St. Sebastian: 4 little Urnas & a small head standing upon a pedestall, wraped in paper, all w^{ch} are in the body of the great urna; the great hand w^{ch} came from Troye: 4 small feete.
7. A great head marked 31: a head marked 29: a head marked 23: a pedestall: a little face: a man figure marked P: 6 small plints or square pedestalls.
8. A woman figure marked I: a head marked 41: a boy's head unmarked, a woman figure marked Q: 2 round pedestalls & a flat one.
9. A Great figure marked G: a woman figure marked L: a head marked 6: a Cupid marked 59: broken stones in paper.
10. A great figure marked F: a head marked 17: a round pedestall.
11. A great head marked I: a great head marked 75: a head marked 26: wth a pedestall: a head marked 25: wth a pedestall.
12. A head marked 102: a head marked 2: a head marked 30: a head marked 5:
13. Three Woman Figures marked O: M: Z: a plinte.

[32] See Gage's letter to Carleton of $\frac{13}{23}$ August, 1617, from Brussels, ante, p. 23. *Another copy of this List is endorsed: "A Note of the Statuas shiped in the Falcon of Dort, whereof Jacob Decatch is M^{r}."*

NO.

14. A great figure marked C : a woman figure marked H : a head marked 47 : a halfe body marked 27 :
15. A boy figure sitting marked T : a great head marked 18 : a head marked 12
16. A great figure marked D : a head marked 7 : a Leda : a head unmarked : a plinte, & broken peeces of a thyn stone ;
17. Two great figures in one flatt stone marked 56 : one flatt figure marked 54.
18. A flatt stone wth 4 figures in it marked 55 : a head marked X : a Cupid marked 51 : all the peeces w^{ch} are broken from the severall figures are wraped in papers & putt in this case.
19. A great head marked 9 : a woman's body marked 62 : a head marked 103 : a head marked + 2 :
20. A flatt figure unmarked : a boy figure marked 58 : a great head marked 33 : a head marked 45 :
21. A Stone wth an inscripcõn : a head marked 16 : a head marked 8 : a woman figure marked Z : a man figure marked : S :
22. A great man figure unmarked : a little head marked 105 : a little head marked 111 : a head marked 112 : a woman body unmarked : a head marked 101.
23. Fower great heads marked : 28 : 19 : 11 : 39 :
24. A boy figure marked T : a boy figure marked X : a Cupid marked 52 : A great body of stone.

APPENDIX D.

LADY ANNA CARLETON'S LETTERS.

The following interesting letters from Lady Carleton to her husband, whom she accompanied in all his travels, as will be seen by her epitaph in Westminster Abbey, were written in consequence of a journey she undertook to Middelburgh and Flushing, for the express purpose of being present at a sale of Italian and Spanish goods taken out of a prize, by a freebooter, from the Viceroy of Naples. Lady Carleton bought certain pictures and other things, on her husband's behalf, he having good commission from the Queen of Bohemia, and the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham to do so ; and it appears that she laid out, in consequence, £627 sterling ; that the Duke of Buckingham was well pleased with his pictures, and "the most earnest lover of painting in the world." [33]

[33] Dudley Carleton's letter to his uncle, Sir Dudley, from London 6 Jan. 1625.

LXXVI. LADY ANNA CARLETON[34] TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

My deere sweete hart: *Dort, November* 4, [1624].

You will understand by this youth of the parrish what an ill passage we had hether yesterday and now I have much adoe to perswaide the Captaine of the ship to set forward; for he yesterday broke the sord of the shipe in the tempest and now we have lost on tide for the mending of it; it was a fearfull day of lightining toward eveing, which is straing at this time of yeere. Thay much feare ill weather to day, and every body is soe well heere thay are loth to goe. Thay lye at ease without charge, but I am resolved to set forward by the helpe of Allmightie God, that I may the sooner come backe to thee, who I am hartily glad I suffred not to goe to Delfe with us, for it was a most pittifull daye, as I thinke ever Christian traviled in; but if all this or tenne times more paines might doe us any good I should never repine at it. I pray send me the mesure of the lenth of your night gowne and let me heere as often from thee as posseeble, for, when I am from thee, my hart is still perplexed. Present my humblist services to there Ma^ties^ and excuse me to my Master that I tooke not my leave of him: my commendationes to all the rest. My truest affectiones to thy selfe, with which I will ever remaine

thy true faithfull loving wife
Anna Carleton.

The recõnning to 19 gilders.
To my deere husband, S^R^ Dudley Carleton.

[34] "On the 8 September, 1623, a Passe was granted to the Ladie Carleton to return to the Haghe," where her husband, Sir Dudley, was then ambassador, see ante, p. 9, note 27. The following letter, from Lady Carleton to Sir Benjamin Rudyard, may be read with interest: S^r^, I am ever studious how to doe my frends service, & you have given me just cause, by yo^r^ many courtesies, to number you w^th^ them I so esteeme; w^ch^ makes me take the libertie to wish you a good wife, such a one as you told me you wanted to playe w^th^ and make much of you. There is a faire opportunitie to accomõdate you in that kind of a neare kinswoman of Mr. Carletons: he recomẽnds her affaires to you, but I herself, for such a wife as you can never have the like. I have knowne her from her childhood. She is yong, nobly borne, faire, personable, and very discreete, and w^ch^ is above all, religious and vertuous; such a one as I know no man can except against. She hath £400 a yeare jointer yf she enjoy her right, w^ch^ is a faire estate w^th^ such a woman, and yf she have her sonnes Wardship it will much augment it; and, I assure you, she is *bonne mesnagère*, w^ch^ is not to be disliked in a wife. All this I write of her I will maintayne upon my credite; for yf you were my brother, as you wilbe my kinsman by this match, I could not wish you a better wife then my Lady Smith; and yf I did not love you very well I would not wish you to her, for I know few women in England I love better. I would I were there to bring you together, but yf I am so happie to wish you to that you shall thincke fitt to hearken after, my sister Harrison lyes in Cheapside at a Grosers shop at the signe of the Kings head; she hath good interest in that Lady, & will doe you all service. This is New yeares day & yf I could give you a good wife for a New yeares gift you would thanke me all the dayes of yo^r^ life. Howsoever you stand affected you will accept the good wishes of her that is &c."

Carleton writes to Chamberlain from the Hague on Nov. $\frac{16}{26}$, 1624, "I am exceeding glad of my La. Smith's goode fortune; and so will my wife be when she knowes it, who loves her so dearly, that she was passionately affected and troubled at a voice was here spred, that she should marrie her cosen Tom Carey."

LXXVII. LADY ANNA CARLETON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

My deerest love: *Middellbrow, November* 6, [1624].

I give most humble and hartie thaukes to Almightie God we are safly come hether, not without much danger. Mr. Fullbergin never made such a jurney, nor Clarke, though hee had past it fortie times, but I thanke my God we scaped Mansfeeldes fortune. We had a very carfull Captaine of the shipe, which I pray you thanke the Admiralti for. I pray God send me as good a one backe, which I doe not dowt of, for I find Mr. Manmaker much redier to send me backe, then give me any wellcome heere, or aide me in any thinge. I know he hath given you very littell incorragement in his advertisement he hath sent the Queene, but I am of another minde, by the assurance of all I speake with heere, He makes an impossebillitie of seeing the goodes, which heere every body hath seene, and which I dowt not by outher meanes to obtaine. And now I have taken such a jurney I will not retorne like a foole, for making more haste then good speede, nether will I prolong more time then needes must. On Munday I resolve to goe to Flushing. Whether I send Clarke tomorrow with a Gentellwoman of my Lady Brownes to provide me a house, by which you may understand I am not beholding to Mr. Manmaker for soe much as that, for hee hath denied it me, and I meane not to trouble him in any thinge. The Duke of Bulline is looked for to night or to morow, but every body sayes Mons^r^ Manmaker is not willing here should com many byers. He ded not soe much as offer me his service, but made my jurney desprat, and to no purpose; but it will not enter into my beleef, for if he sayes true all the world else lyes that are heere. Fullbergaine hath a midell beleefe, which is not to beleeve nether the one nor the other. This 3 nightes I have not bin in bed, and have bin a very sicke creatur, as allmost ever creture was that was with me. God send me a better passage to thee and that I find the well, and be you assured heere are very rich and raire thinges, sufficient to make my Lord of Buckingham a wonderfull sumtious present, for those that have seene them have assurd me of it, but those that have an intrest in the goodes doe suspect Manmaker and some others have a mind to ingrose them to themselfes for a matter of nothing, as in truth it appeers. The next Messinger shall bring you more at large what now I omitt, this being the furst day I put my foote on land. I sent all Joceemes letters as soune as I can, but I have seene none but Manmakes. Curteene is very sicke, but he sent his sonne in law to me and provided my lodging, and sen this coche to carrie me to it. My Lady Browne keepes in by reason of her Mothers death. Every thing proves as cross as is poseeble hether to. Heere is divers sesternes of silver, and 4 high candell stickes for torches, and very rich stuffes imbrodred, and a great deale of both men and wimenes apparrill. He perswaides me it is all olde stuff, but others doe assure it is nue out of the peece, but as I saye the next will tell you all and till then God night and send us a happie meeting. thy faithfull true loving Wife, Anna Carleton.

From Midellbrow,
this Saterday night, this 6 of November.

To my Deere Husband, S^R^ Dudley Carleton, Knight,
Lord Ambassador for his Ma^tie^ with the Staites at the Hagh.

LXXVIII. LADY ANNA CARLETON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.[35]

MY DEERE SWEETE HART: *Flushing, November* 9, [1624].

I RECEVED thine of the 5th just at my coñing to Flushing where I am come I thanke God very well, but with as many dificoltes as ever any past, for I cam afoote from Midellbrough and yet after that I went to see as many of the goodes as ware to be seene. Heere are very fine hangings of silke imbrodred with silver chamblot, which thay call cloth of gold, and som with slight cloth of silver betweene and som of the same fassion with greene dammaske betweene, the borders are of greene vellett imbrodred with that chamblot. Thay are as good as new; there is a dellicatt needell worke carpitt very courious and rich. All these I wish I had at a reasonable rate and I would torne marchant. There are very good tapstery but is is somwhat olde, if it com at a very low raite I will bye store for my selfe and my frendes. Heere is great store of exceeding good houshold stuff. Heere are store likewise of very faire pictures; but what I shall doe for the getting of them for my Lord of Buckingham, God knowes, for I doe not. Heere is no respect of parsones, nor no such thing to be heered of, but who will give most shall have it. Jokeemes brother never com to me but mett me at the place where the plate and cristalles ware and never tooke notice of me, but, when I understood it was hee, I told him I sent him a letter from his brother in law, and that I desired his aide in the choice of som pictures for the Duke of B.; as I thought his brother had advertised him, which he then acknowledged and offred me his service. Monsur Manmaker was with me all that afternoune, which was Sonday, with his wife and Madam Hoteene, who offred me, very kindly, her house. Her husband is at the campe and stayes to bring the Duke of Bollone hether; but I thinke this tempestious wether will not suffer them to come. Your bookes I will have a care of; thay will not yet be solde a great while; but there are 2 delicate basiones thay saye of hammered worke but I thinke they are but cast. Thay are such as I would very gladly have, thay are marvelous goodly ones. I pray present my humble service to the Queene, and let her know the candell stickes are not for her; thay are olde and battred and the least pare of them comes to £300 and above. There are other thinges I shall doe my outermost indevore to get them for her. Turkey carpittes yet seene none but 2 or 3 durtie rotten ones. There are delicate bedes of helitropia as ever I looked on, and very fine ons of lapes lasrero [?lapis lazuli] and blacke and whit agett, but less then those of the Queenes a

[35] On $\frac{16}{26}$ Nov., 1624, Sir Dudley Carleton writes, from the Hague, to John Chamberlain, "My Wife is now in Zeeland, at an Incanto of Italian and Spanish goods taken by a freebooter of that Province from a Viceroy of Naples, as they were transporting into Galicia (where it seemes his habitation is) by the Cape St. Vincent: and having seene the list of them I more comiserate his family then himself, whose gaines of the whole time of theyr service in clothes, and trinkets are lost in that one prise, wherin is much wayting-gentlewoemens ware: but withall store of hangings and goode howsehold stuff, Spanish and Italian bookes (w^{ch} are my marchandise) and pictures of the best hands; abowt w^{ch} my Wife hath chiefely undertaken this jorney, to doe service to owr chiefe persons at home, who looke after them; and it is well yf she can purchas thancks answearable to her paines; for she hath had an ill passage thether, being fower dayes and three nights on ship-boord in tempestuous wether."

good deale, yet I would faine have them all for her. There are pritie fine cristalles, but none very faire, not comparable to that you gave the Duke. I find not many courious thinges. There is a very fare bottell of aggett and a litell cupe. This is the furst day and they are now aselling of all there rags and cloutes, and I have sent to by some babyes for the gentell wemen, for heere are very fine ones. I am sorry I had none of M^ris^ Apsley's commandes, for I cold have furnished her house very well. I pray comend me to her. I hope I shall find her at the Hagh. I am lodged at my Lady Flemminges exceeding well, and soe much made on as is posseeble. Yet I shall long to be with thee, especially when you are soe kind to take soe much care of me. I am sorry the staites doe not make my Lord of Buckingham a present of these things. I cold have chosen out a very fine on of the plate and christalles, and beding, and hanging, and aggetts, and bessorstones, and the gold baskes and boxes, and tables, and picturs, and it would have bin thought you had procured it. It will be yet this 4 dayes eare the plat and christalls will come to be sold. I have had most compliment of Mr. Borrell, but for effectes I have had of none, nor I doe not see I am like. I have more of my Lady Fleming then all this Countrey will afford me. I send you heere a letter to be sent to her sonne; he is with Sir Charles. Heere is my Lord Willibye; he cam to visite me last night. I thinke he helpes themes to sell rages, for I heere he is there now. S^r^ Iohn Wentworth is very respective to me; I delivered your message to him. S^r^ Iohn Borrows remembers his service to you; and I my truest affectiones, praying to God we may have a safe and a happie meeting.

Thy faithfull Wife,

A. C.

From Flushing,
this 9th of November.

To my deere husband, S^R^ Dudley Carleton, Knight,
His Ma^ties^ Ambassator w^th^ the Staites at the Hagh.

LXXIX. LADY ANNA CARLETON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.[36]

Flushing, November $\frac{11}{21}$, [1624].

My sweete hart:

I have receved thine of the 6th and am very glad to heere thou art well, and I hope, before this, you have receved mine that will tell you we cam all safe hether. I writ to you from Middellbrough which I hope you have likewise receved. Mammaker is a proud scirue [scurvy?] kockescome and his wife a fitt wife for him. I pray let Madam Vandernote know her letters have bin of very littell use to me no more then yours. The conselare Husson hath helped me to by som picturs to day; but heere is such keching for them that

[36] Part printed in Carpenter's Appendix to "Life of Van Dyck."

I know not what to doe, and som times on must bye good and bad to gether. I have bought nine to day, good and bad, but in truth none very bad, without it be one as bige as halfe my hand. They are sold exstreme deere, and yet there are infinit here. I have som very raire peeces, on of Tisianes, it cost me all most £30. I have another littell peece which cost me £40 and ode. My Lord Willibye is heere, and hee is a great byer. Yet if I had not these picturs, the painters of Anwarp would have given the mony. I never saw pictures sold soe deere in my life, espetially trash. I wish all owrs ware sold as well, it would paye our deates. I cannot but once more tell you I am sorry my Lord of Buckingham had not a present of these thinges. Here are great store of very faire picturs. I cold have chosen him a very faire present out of these goodes and plait. I have got somwhat amoung them, but I wish thay had it from me. It is an exstreme cold. I resolve to stay 2 or 3 days yet, though thay will scarse alow me a place to see the thinges in, thay are soe sivell. I beseech you let Mr. Jokeemie know it. We must paye in every pound flemmish 7 stivers impost; thay say you are not free. I assure you it will com to a great deall of mony and therefor I wish you would speake about it, and I thinke you may let me heere from you before I shall com awaye, for I shall see nothing with out I staye till the latter ende of the next weeke. Mannaker carries a great stroke in the selling of these thinges; and it is imposseeble to see them all, for the thinges are infinit, and they will sell of there worst furst; for now we are but com to good pictures this daye, and thay saye there will be better tomorrow; and, after the pictures are sold, then thay will sell the tappestry; and soe other hanginges and bedes. I lye at my Lady Flemminges, where my lodging cost me nothing but her diate and her daughters and 2 mades. One of them kepes us in the kichen and thinges are at a reasonable raite heere; the going and comming is the greatest charge. You gave me no derection what I should doe with the pictures or other thinges that I bought; whether I should send them into England, or bring them with me to the Hagh; but I pray you let me heere from you with all speede. We have hard this daye of the death of my Lord of Southamton and his sonne, a missarable loss, God comfort his pore lady. I know thou art much greeved and I assure thee I am. We likewise heere the Prince of Oreng is gon sicke to the Hagh. God send him better fortune these had after there remove. My Lord Williby is wind bond, and all the rest of the Inglish. He comes every day to me and soe doe the rest. Thay came and went with me to the place where the thinges are to be sold, and my Lady Flemming and her Daughter every day goes with me, I goe not soe basely but that thay might thinke me worthy of better respect then I find amoungest them; but I pray God I may find thee well and I shall littell care for this. I pray present my humbliss service to there Magesties. I would writ to the Queene if I had any thing worthy the troubling her with. By my last I thought to have fitted them all at Court with Spanish Babyes; but thay ware sold amoung such other trash which was not fitt for me to by. I will doe what I can for the silver plate for the littell Lady; but all of it is not worth the bying. Courteene hath bin very sicke and all his family. I wish you ded but see in what croud of people I goe, you would not thinke I feared the plauge; but I pray God I be not more hardie then wise. We are all well I thanke God, but that I have an exstreme cold. I take it very kindly the care thou takest for me,

but I am sorry thou shouldest breake thy sleepe for it. God send us a happie meeting and thee long life and helth, and I will ever rest

Thy faithfull true loving Wife

ANNA CARLETON.

From Flushing,
this 21 of November, new stile.

To my deere husband, S^r^ DUDLEY CARLETON, Knight,
Lord Ambassador for his Ma^tie^ with the Staites at the Hagh.

LXXX. SIR D. CARLETON TO PHILIP BURLAMACCHI. [*Extract.*]

Hague, December $\frac{18}{28}$, 1624.

S^r^:

W^th^ thanckes for yo^r^ l^re^ of the 28^th^ of the last, the more pertycular answere whereunto I referr you to my next oportunity of writing. This serves only to lett you understand that haveing good comission to buy certaine pycktures and other thinges of those w^ch^ were lately sould at Mydelburgh & Flushing, out of the Pryze taken from the Vyceroy of Naples, for the Queene of Bohemia, & my Lord Duke & Dutchesse of Buckingham, about w^ch^ my wyfe made a jorney into Zealand expresly, she there layd out in Dutch money to the value of £627 sterling of w^ch^ present payment being made there by S^r^ Pieter Courteen, whereof he hath demanded of me rembursssment in specie. I have procured y^e^ same accordingly to be payd unto him by Mr. Samuell Avery, one of o^r^ Englysh Merchands at Delff, & have promised him repayment by Exchange in London . . . And for the perticularityes, upon what account these moneyes are to be charged, I will advertyse you by the Shipp wherein the pycktures & some other thinges are laden, for the Lord^ps^ the Duke & Dutchesse.

* * * . * *

Your very assured frend,

DUDLEY CARLETON.

LXXXI.

[*Indorsed by Sir Dudley Carleton.*—"My Nephew's Bill of Expences in Eng: given to me the 10^th^ of Sept^r^, 1624."]

LAYD owt since the sending of my first accounts for the silver plate and other things owt of England, for the service of my L^d^ Amb^r^ and my Lady Carleton, these summes following :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
For Ovids workes w^th^ Commentaries for my L^d^ Amb^r^ . .	0	18	0
For a new black bever hatt w^th^ a gold band	2	18	0
For portage of the Chrysostomes owt of Kent to London .	0	14	6

	£	s.	d.
For packing up the Chrysostomes in double canvas to be sent for Venice	1	4	0
For foure dousen of gloves wth a sett of greene and silver knotts for my Lady Carleton	3	5	0
For 16 strings of red Cornelian beades	7	14	0
For 4 dousen of 2^{d} scarlett riband	0	12	0
For 3 dousen and 10 yards of 4^{d} scarlett riband	1	3	0
For Illiotropeys	0	12	6
To my Lady Harrison for counterfeit silver, for birdseye, and other things bought by her for my Lady Carleton	5	1	0
For two yards of black and white striped stuffe	0	7	0
For a chest to carrie these things	0	3	6
For a porter to carrie this chest	0	0	6
summa	£24	13	0

APPENDIX E.

HORACE GENTILESCHI.[37]

The following Correspondence, and "The Sommes of Mounys Gentileschi hath receeved," in the handwriting of Balthazar Gerbier, have much

[37] Orazio Luigi Gentileschi was born at Pisa in 1563, and was a disciple of Aurelio Lorni, his half brother. He distinguished himself greatly by his works at Florence, Genoa, and Rome, as likewise in France and Savoy; and so great was his reputation that he was invited by Charles I. to London in 1626, who granted him an annuity of £100 per annum, treated him in the most liberal manner, and furnished his house from top to toe, at an expense of more than £4000. Among the several works, which he painted for that Monarch, were the ceilings at Greenwich. Sandrart, who was in London, when Gentileschi was here, describes a few of his pictures which were painted for the King, in the highest terms of commendation. One was Mary Magdalen prostrate on the ground, with such a character of devout compunction and divine meditation, as could not be more feelingly expressed by any artist. He appears to have received £300 for this picture according to Gerbier's account [see p. 314]. Another was a Holy Family, representing the Virgin sitting on the ground with the Infant at her breast and Joseph in a supine attitude, resting his head on a sack, which picture, in the drawing, design, colouring, and disposition, as also for the appearance of nature and truth, was justly admired. This picture Gerbier estimates at £80. The third was Lot and his Daughter, estimated by Gerbier worth £100: was so happily executed, as to be equal to the performance of any master. After the death of the King, nine pictures by Gentileschi were sold for £600, and are now the ornaments of the Hall at Marlborough House. He contracted an intimacy with Van Dyck, who painted an excellent portrait of him. He died in London in 1647, age, eighty-four.

Francesco Gentileschi, his son, excelled in historical subjects; he died at Genoa about 1660.

Artemisia Gentileschi, his daughter, was born at Rome in 1590. While in England, she painted portraits of the principal nobility, and a fine picture for Charles I. the subject of which was David and Goliath. She was held in high esteem by Guido. Two of her best pictures in Italy were Judith and Holofernes [See ante, pp. 57—60] and Susanna and the Elders. She died in 1642. *Pilkington.*

interest. We gather from them that Gentileschi was considered by King Charles I. and the Duke of Buckingham (if not by Gerbier) one of the greatest painters of the day ; for besides a liberal pension of £100 : per annum, a large sum in those days, his house was, by the King's orders, furnished expressly for him, "from top to toe," at the enormous outlay of more than £4000. The King also seems to have taken Gentileschi's family under his especial protection, to have sent his sons to Italy for their particular benefit, and to have paid every expense attending their journey. The account of the money received by Gentileschi, in Gerbier's handwriting, is exceedingly curious, and we think from the very severe tone, exhibited throughout this paper, that Gerbier, an artist, himself under the protection of the Duke of Buckingham, was little pleased at the favours so lavishly bestowed upon Gentileschi and his family.

The letters from Gentileschi appear to have been written in consequence of some objections, perhaps originating with Gerbier, to the large sums of money received by Gentileschi : but, although, unfortunately, neither of these papers is dated, it is clear from Gentileschi in his first letter, describing the journey of his sons to Italy, and, in his second, being so short of money and in debt, "thro' having sent his sons into Italy, according to the King's commands," that Gerbier's Paper must have been written subsequent to both ; because Nicholas Lanier, who supplied them with money in that journey, is called upon "to justifye what the Gentilescos had in Itally," which Gerbier says was about £500. The figures attached to the pictures show the exact prices Gentileschi received for some of his most beautiful works, and it also appears that Endymion Porter, "who was forcett to solicit for Gentilesco, after his arrivall, £500," was somewhat interested in the success of the application, and received, at all events a portion of the £200 with which Gentileschi was obliged to bribe those who had interested themselves in his favour.

[*Translated from the Italian.*]

[*Indorsed by Sec. Lord Dorchester,*—"Sig^{r} Gentilesch:^{i} Memor^{l}."]

LXXXII. H. GENTILESCHI TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER.

Most illustrious and most Excellent Signor,
and my most distinguished Patron :

In order that your Excellency may be informed of the expenses incurred by Francesco & Giulio,[37*] my sons, on the occasion of their voyage into Italy by his Majesty's commands, it is necessary that you should understand that they were despatched by Sig Thomas Cary on the 20th Aug. 1627, by His Majesty's commands to Genoa, to purchase a study of Pictures of the Sg^{r} Philip San Micheli, with the intervention of Sig Nicholas Lanier, who was then at Venice. For their journey as far as that place, one hundred and

37* On 4 December, 1628, a pass was signed for "Sig^{r} Julio Gentilesco, sonne to Sig^{r} Horatio Gentilesco, one of his Ma^{tes} servants to retourne into Italy." Counc. Reg. Car. 1. vol. iv. p. 614.

fifty pounds were given to them by the hands of Sig^r^ Cary, with an intimation that they would find the Sig^r^ Lanier at Genoa, and that he had given him order in his letter to supply them with money for their stay there and for their return. He also gave them his own letters in their favour, but when they arrived at Milan they heard that Sig^r^ Lanier was at Venice, who would depart in a short time for England. Upon this, one of them resolved to go to Genoa, and the other to Venice, to find him, which they did, and when the one arrived at Venice, he was informed by those in whose house Sig^r^ Nicholas had lived, that he had left for Genoa 4 days since, upon which Giulio immediately resolved to travel post and rejoin his brother, so that with his brother and in conjunction with Sig^r^ Nicholas they might effect the purpose for which they had been sent into Italy. But when Giulio arrived and opened the matter to his brother Francesco, he asked him if he had conferred with Sig^r^ Lanier ? He told him that he had not seen him, having remained but one day in Genoa, which surprised his own merchant, to whom the letters of exchange were directed, so that Giulio again, without loss of time, thought it right to return to Venice, and ascertain clearly the intentions of the said Sig^r^ Nicholas. Arrived there, he opened the matter to him, and having found him unwilling to agree to the purchase of that study, told him that he must provide them with money as they purposed to return home. He replied that he would first speak with His Majesty's Ambassador, and requested him to wait upon him on the following morning, which he did, in company with the Ambassador's nephew, when he told him that it appeared to the Ambassador, that they ought to remain in Italy * * * [torn away]. Giulio said that he would willingly obey, but that if they remained up to that time winter would come upon them, it being now the month of November, they would be constrained to postpone their return until the spring, and that they were not provided with money to keep them for so long a time. Sig^r^ Lanier replied that, "they should avail themselves of the 500 dollars given by the Sig^r^ Thomas Cary, for the purchase of Pictures, and as that was for the King's service, he would excuse them to the said Sig^r^ Cary and say that it was by his order, which he did. After this Giulio told him of his having made two journeys post to Venice, for which he had received no money, and that he had spent all the money he had of his own, and begged he would provide him with sufficient, at least for his return. Upon this the said Sig^r^ Nicholas caused Daniel Nys to give him thirty Spanish doubloons, and he, on receiving them, returned to Genoa, when in conjunction with his brother, he demanded the above-mentioned 500 dollars of Sig^r^ Frederic Saminiati. Francesco remained there, Giulio having gone to Pisa to pass the winter with some of his relatives. In about 5 or 6 months I wrote to both of my sons, by order of the Sig^r^ Thomas Cary, for them to return to England, that such was the intention of His Majesty, who would reward them for their trouble, and that Sig^r^ Nicholas Lanier had order to provide them with the same sum of money as they had when despatched into Italy. Having in due time received my letter, they wrote to Sig Nicholas at Venice to send them money for their return, and after having waited for his answer a month and a half, Francesco determined to go to Venice for the money. At that instant there came an order to Genoa to Sig^r^ Frederic Saminiati to pay them 150 doubloons, but Francesco who had arrived at Venice, and found the Sig^r^ Lanier, told him that he wished him to pay the

money to him ; but Sig^r^ Nicholas gave him the bill of exchange in confirmation of the first, payable to Giulio and Francesco jointly, for the above-named 150 doubloons, and then gave him to return to Genoa, and for his other wants, another 57 doubloons, which makes in all the value of the £150 sterling.

They received nothing for their journey to Genoa, and this is the money received for all, and the declaration of the reasons of their voyages to Venice, which, when it please your Excellency, they will clear the whole in your presence with Sig Nic. Lanier. You may rest assured, that I have inserted nothing in this present information, that they have not given in a like form to His Majesty and Sig^r^ Thomas Cary for the clearance of any charge that may be made against them. And here with reverent affection I humbly kiss the hands of your most illustrious Lordship & Excellency.

Your most humble and obedient Servant.

ORATIO GENTILESCHI.

[*Translated from the Italian.*]

[*Indorsed by Sec. Lord Dorchester,*—"Sig^r^ Gentileschies Memor^l^ delivered unto me y^e^ 24 of Ap. 1629."]

LXXXIII. H. GENTILESCHI TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER.

[*April,* 1629.]

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST EXCELLENT SIGNOR,
AND MY MOST DISTINGUISHED PATRON :

SINCE your Excellency commands me, on the part of His Majesty, to give an account of what was presented to me by the Duke of Buckingham, of glorious memory, which I did not even expect to have to do, as foreign to my intentions and to the interests of His Majesty, having received it as a gift from his Excellency himself, and not for anything that I had done in this kingdom ; but that I might be ready for this service with devotion, having left the service of France and come, at my own expense, into England, but very different to when I was called by the Republic of Genoa, by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by his Highness of Savoy, and lastly by the Queen Mother of France, from which Princes I received a good sum of money for my travelling expenses ; and further for having lost much time in waiting until the house ordered by his Excellency to be furnished for me was completed. I will tell you what I have received from his Excellency in England. I do not believe your Excellency wishes to have any account whilst I served another Prince out of this kingdom, much more of what he gave to me for pictures sent to him from Paris, neither the one nor the other can, I feel assured, prejudice my claims, nor the credit which I have from His Majesty for the services I have rendered him. I know it cannot be his intention that I should be satisfied with the money which was given to me by the Lord Duke, but that he will benignly recognise me, in accordance with a perfect understanding, and as so great a sovereign is accustomed to do. Up to the present time I have only received from him one year's provision, and the hundred and fifty pounds for the azure, Models, and other colours, as I

have already informed your Excellency; and you may easily learn from His Majesty himself if he has ordered any other money to be given to me, or if there be found any other paymaster of the King who has given me anything, so that your Excellency may be clearly satisfied concerning my credit and debit. But to proceed to what is required of me; I will say that I have received no other money but what His Majesty, by his favour, gave to the Lord Duke for me, the said Lord having first drawn a receipt in his own hand to that Viscount, whom His Majesty ordered to pay the money to the Lord Duke, and not to others. The Duke, of his kindness, and for the above-named reasons, made me a present of it, which bounty amounted in all to £1500, although I only touched £1300, having given £200 to some persons interested in that affair, and who had proposed it, being the conditions upon which they interested themselves. Of these £1300 a part I have spent on my son, who had been some time in his Excellency's service, and the rest in the maintenance of my house. My son, has not received anything for that service as others have done, but of this I would never have spoken, nor of the above-named particulars, had I not been constrained to give these accounts. It is certain that if I had not been accommodated with this money, I should have been compelled to be much more solicitous, not to say importunate, to receive the money which was assigned for my living. At present I believe there are no other accounts to give your Excellency, and these I know you will not consider as in any way affecting what is owing to me. It only remains for me to intreat you, to do me the favour to settle the whole, in order that I may make arrangements for my provision, being altogether so short of money, nay more, so indebted, thro' having sent my sons into Italy according to His Majesty's commands. This you can ascertain from a merchant who has accommodated me with the money for these services. Expecting your favour, I remain most bound to the courtesy of your Excellency, whose hands are humbly kissed by

My most illustrious and Excellent Lord,

Your most humble servant,

ORATIO GENTILESCHI.

[*Indorsed by Secretary Lord Dorchester*—"Moneys rec^{d} by Gentileschi."]

[*This document is entirely in the handwriting of Gerbier.*]

LXXXIV. THE SOMMES OF MONNYS GENTILESCO HATH RECAEVED.

The 12 *of Sept.*

	£
In Primis, for a Picture, onley a single figeure beeinge a Magdelene	300
For his comming over as apeered by a quittance . . .	500
What monny he had by Milords one hand for two pictures he sent from France, the one having bin the Cardinals, is not knowne.	. . .
Item, after his arivall he importunaeted the Duck so long, that Mr. Indimion Porter was forcett to solicitt for him . . which was the 500 whaire with his sone with a plott ment to go for Itally.	500

	£
Item, got for to buy Collors beeinge a neew plott to putt upon the King, witnes Mr. Cary	150
Item, more for to travell	150
And after the sonne caeme back agayne maide beleeve that he had bin robde at sea and gott an other somme wich I cannot tell.	. . .
In the Ieare he maide one peece for the King got an Yrish Baron for his schaire	1,500
Afore the Duke went to Ré, the Duke tould me that Gentiles squised out of his purs	400
	£3,500

Besydes all his housse furnishet from top to too ; wich will amount more then	£4,000
Gentilesco for this hath sent a Madelen[38] wich, in regarde of rare peeces of Titian & better Masters then he, may be worth	50
A Maghdelen with Joseph[38]	80
A Christ at the Pillare	40
The Picture he hath maide in Englant of Lott, that wich the King hath	100
	£270

M[r] Lanier saith by a Note he had that the Gentilescos had in Itally about £500, and yet thy bring in reckning £80 they have spent. Mr. Lanier will justifye this.

LXXXV.

1629—30, January. An Annuity of £100 : graunted to Horatio Gentileschi, Gent, during his life, the first payment thereof to begin from Christmas last.

LXXXVI.

1629—30, January. A Warrant for payment of £300 unto Horatio Gentileschi, in satisfaccõn of soe much due at Xmas last, for three yeares allowance of the said Añuity, of w[ch] his Ma[tie] is pleased that he shall receive the Benefit from the time of his first coming into this kingdome, w[ch] is certified to have bene in the Yeare 1626.

[38] In the *Catalogue of the curious collection of pictures of Geo. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in which is included the valuable collection of Sir Peter Paul Rubens*, written by Brian Fairfax. 4to. London, 1758 ; at page 14, these two pictures are described as painted by Gentileschi, viz. :—

No. 1. A Magdalen lying at her length in a grotto leaning on a skull.
No. 2. The Virgin Mary, Our Saviour, and St. Joseph sleeping.

LXXXVII.

1631, June 24. Warrant to pay unto Horatio Gentileschi £200 : for pictures by him delivered to his Ma^{ties} use, unto whome a former privy Seale was graunted for payment of the said somme, the which is since loste. His Ma^{ties} pleasure signified by the Lord Viscount Dorchester and by him procured.

APPENDIX F.

SIR BALTHAZAR GERBIER.

All Biographies say that Gerbier was born in 1591. From the following account of his Pedigree, written by himself to Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary of State, it would, however, appear that he came into the world soon after St. Bartholomew's day.

LXXXVII.*

"The now living Heralt of Armes of the Duché of Brabant hath subscribed my genealogie (renewed two yeares since). Witnesses, my Father borne at Antwerpe, sonne of a Norman Knyght to his grand Father, married to Catharina de Laloe, daughter to Alonzo de Laloe, Secretary of State unto King Philip the 2^{d}, and, by her Mother's side, daughter of Francis de Valdolid, Heyg stuart unto the Emperor Charles the fift, so that as my father a french man by the masculin line, of Spanish blud by the Mother, so my selfe French by Father and Mother, who daughter in aire to the Lord Blanet in Picardie : all what can be said is, that during the Massacre of Paris my Father and Mother fledd, I being then in my Mother's belly, who was brought forth at Middlebourgh, where I made noe aboade since 5 yeares of age, and since 8 have bin in Gasconny ; travelled and lived in England since the year 1617, having no dependence of Hollanders, nor Rebells as these call them. All the parents I have in the worreld, from my Father and Mother's side, being eather in Portugall here and in France, of the House of Melun of Espinay, The Lanoy, Governor of Hulst att this side, many att Antwerpe where yett Houses wth our armes ; att Gant and in Flandres, w^{ch} to prove by Toumbes here att Bruxelles, and by the Ancient Armes of our Famillies."

Nevertheless he had an especial dislike to be looked upon as a Frenchman. He declares he is "heart, tooth, and naile English," and he preferred requests to Parliament for naturalisation, on more than one occasion. He was Master of the Horse to the Duke of Buckingham, accompanied him to Spain in 1623, as also to France in 1625, when the Duke writes to

Secretary Lord Conway, complaining of "the ill usage his servant Gerbier" had met with. A full account of his employments in Holland and Flanders in 1627 will be found ante p. 68 *et seq.* The assassination of his patron the Duke of Buckingham in August 1628 caused him to solicit foreign employment; an interesting letter will be found *ante* p. 135-6, respecting his connexion, &c., with the Duke. In May, 1631, he was appointed "his Mat^ies Agent at Brussels,"[39] and many of his letters written in this capacity will be found printed in a previous part of this volume. Several were written by him in 1636-7, with reference to the efforts made by some of the Court at Brussels to have him removed, but Rubens appears to have stood his friend, and the King, satisfied with his conduct, did not replace him.

LXXXVIII. BALTHAZAR GERBIER TO "BROTHER NORGATE." (*Extract.*)

Brussels, January $\frac{11}{21}$, 1636-7.

"The late Marquis d'Aytona received order to signifie the old Infanta's pleasure I should dispence my self from appearing in this Court, w^ch resolution was putt att a stand by S^r Peter Reubens, whom theise consulted on that point, his opinion the Infanta ought not to mislike my person for being a faithful servant to the King my Maister."

LXXXIX. SEC. SIR F. WINDEBANK TO B. GERBIER. (*Extract.*)

S^R: *Westminster, May* 25, 1638.

* * * * *

Concerning the Calumnies that have bene cast upon yo^u, I must tell yo^u it is very true that the late Sp: Amb^r De Onate, in an Audience a little before his departure, pressed His Ma^ty very earnestly for your Revocation, alledgeing, for his chiefest argument, that yo^u are borne in Holland, or som of these Provinces now in opposition to the Crowne of Spaine, and that therfore being Her Masters, the K. of Spaine's naturall borne subject, and yet in opposition to him, yo^u were incapable of such an employm^t. But His M. well perceaved the dessigne of the man & that he having (w^thout doubt) som notice of yo^r present Negotiation there, did move this of purpose to overthrow it. Never the lesse yo^u must not be discouraged, seing yo^u serve a gracious Master, & that values yo^u much the better (I asseure yo^u) for so ill an office don yo^u most unjustly by such a malicious person.

* * * * *

Yo^r most affectionat frende & servant,

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

[39] There is a Warrant to the Exchequer "for payment of 40*s.* per diem to Sir Balthazar Gerbier, Knight, his Ma^tes Resident w^th the Cardinall Infanta in Flanders or his assignes for his enterteynment," &c.

He came to England in September 1638, was knighted by the King at Hampton Court on the 2d of October, and returned to Brussels a few days after. In September, 1639 he writes to the Secretary of State, thanking him for having put the King in mind of his pretensions respecting the place of Master of the Ceremonies, which His Majesty promised the Duchess of Buckingham he should succeed to. He was exceedingly careful of the education of his sons; his eldest "had all the exercises fitt for a gentleman, and may prove a rare mathematician as he speakes eight severall languages prompt; his two other sonns (wherof one the King's godsonne) speake now neere foure severall languages."[40] His last letter from Brussels is dated $\frac{14}{24}$ August, 1641, and in the October following he writes from "Bednal Green, *near London.*" On the 12th November, 1649, his papers relating to the trial of the late King Charles I. were ordered by the Council of State to be examined. It is said that he afterwards became so reduced as to be oliged to keep a school; that at the restoration he fell into disgrace, and died in indigent circumstances in 1667. A Protegé of the Duke of Buckingham, he was personally known to, and in correspondence with, the most eminent men of his time. Walpole in his "Anecdotes of Painters," assigns a considerable place to Gerbier. Many of his letters are highly interesting and he seems to have been the means of introducing into England great improvements in the trade of Pawnbrokers, which he recommended should be similar to the Mounts of Piety in the Netherlands.

APPENDIX G.

HUBERT LE SUEUR.[41]

This Great Sculptor was patronised by Charles I., and an interesting Correspondence, preserved in the State Paper Office, has been printed in the Appendix to Carpenter's "Memoir of Sir Anthony Van Dyck," pp. 188 *et seq.*, concerning the bronze statue, by Le Sueur, of King Charles I. now at Charing Cross, which was originally done at the expense of the Earl of Arundel.

[40] One of Gerbier's sons was employed by the King, and there is a Grant of a fee of 6*s.* 8*d.* per diem to Balthazar Gerbier for his attendance upon Ambassadors and strangers. The following extract of a letter written by him to the Earl of Danby, tells us the maiden name of his wife:—"If y^r L^p causeth the £41: sterl^g to be paid to my *Father in Law,* Kip, he shall find meanes to make the somme over to me."

[41] In a "List of [291] Names, descriptions, and residences of all foreign strangers residing within the county of Middlesex" [Dom: Chas. I., 1626, vol. xliv. No. 47], occurs the following: In Whitecross Street, Daniel Alman, a painter; in the Duchy Liberty in the Strand, Monsieur Duche, a picture drawer; in the district of Drury Lane, Queen Street, and Prince's Street, *Hubert Laseur, a picture drawer.*

XC.

1635-6. March 11. A Warrant to the Exchequer for payment of the some of £200 : unto Hubrecht le Sueur for severall Busts of brasse sould by him to his Majestie.

XCI.

1636. May 7. A Warrant to the Exchequer to pay unto Hubert le Sueur or his assignes the summe of £200 : for the Statua of Cleopatra in brasse deliv^d^ to his Majestie.

In a Contract dated 17th June, 1638,[42], Le Sueur "bargaines with the Kinges Ma^tie^ of great Bretaine to cast in brasse two Statues of 5 footes and 8 inches high" for £340. The following Warrant will show that he is paid £40 for his charges in carrying to Winchester these identical statues, which may now be seen on either side of the entrance to the Choir of Winchester Cathedral.

XCII.

1639. November 5. A Warrant to thExcheq^r^ to pay £120 : to Hubert le Sueur for a Bust in brasse representing King James, and £40 : for his charges in carying to Winchester two figures, one representing King James [1^st^] and the other his Ma^tie^ [King Charles 1^st^] Subscr: by order from Mr. Sec. Windebank, and by him procured.

XCIII. HUBERT LE SUEUR TO KING CHARLES I^ST^.[43]

[*February*, 1638-9.]

Your Royall Ma^tie^ is most humbly besought, graciously to give order for the payment of One hundred Powndes for a Mercury delivered for her Ma^ties^ fountain.

Item for y^r^ Ma^tes^ Pourtraite w^th^ the Imperiall Crowne, wholly guilt, (which peece if it should be rejected or neglected would turne to your poore pet^rs^ greate confusion) what yo^r^ Ma^tie^ shall please.[44]

Item for Three Patternes two of Venus and one of Bacchus (all of waxe each for £3 : facit £9 :

All which peeces have beene delivered by

Your Ma^tes^ most humble obedient
and unworthy Praxiteles
Le Sueur.

[42] Printed by Carpenter, p. 190.

[43] Printed by Carpenter, *without date*, p. 191.

[44] £30: is written in the margin to which the several sums of 100, 9, and 340, the last the price of the "two brasse Statues," in the above contract of 17 June, 1638, are added, making a total of £479: due to Le Sueur at this date.

APPENDIX H.

THE COLLECTION OF PICTURES AND STATUES WHICH FORMERLY BELONGED TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.

The following Original Papers, relating to the purchase, by Nicholas Lanier and Daniel Nys, of the celebrated collection of Pictures and Statues which formerly belonged to the Duke of Mantua, are of the greatest interest and value. They furnish almost a complete record of this magnificent acquisition to the Cabinet of King Charles I., and will be the more acceptable to all lovers of art, inasmuch as little is accurately known concerning this purchase. Walpole says, "The precise year in which the Duke of Mantua's pictures were brought into England does not occur; but after their acquirement (certainly in the early part of his reign), the increase was constantly carried on, by purchases and presents."

It appears that Nicholas Lanier, who was Master of his Majesty's Music, as also a great judge and lover of painting, was sent to Italy by the King in June, 1625, to "provide for him some choice Pictures." He must have made large purchases of pictures and statues; for we find Burlamachi, in October, 1627, soon after Lanier's return, complaining that he is called upon to provide the "great somme" of £15000, to pay for these works of art, and adding that it will be utterly impossible for him to make provision, which was much needed, for My Lord Duke [of Buckingham's] relief [in the Isle of Rhé]. Lanier had probably informed Charles I. that many rare and beautiful pictures and statues were still to be had in Italy; he had possibly spoken to the King, on his return, of the Duke of Mantua's collection; for we find that he is very soon again despatched into Italy, and writes from Venice, in December, 1627. Sir Isaac Wake, the Ambassador there, was commanded to give Lanier "his best advice and assistance;" and in February, 1628, obtains "free transportation for such pictures, paintings, and other rarityes as had been provided in these parts for y^{e} adorning of his Ma^{tes} Cabinet."

The first letter from Daniel Nys is dated Venice, $\frac{17}{27}$ April, 1628. Lanier is the bearer of it, but, before his departure, he had treated for the marbles and statues belonging to the Duke of Mantua, who died in December, 1627; and we are informed that Nys concluded the purchase; Lanier having used every care to repair and trim them up. All the Princes of Christendom were astonished and disgusted that they had been sold. The people of Mantua made so much noise about it, that if the young Duke could have had them back again, he would readily have paid double for them, and the people would willingly have subscribed the money. The letters from Daniel Nys are of the highest interest, they allude to some of the noblest works of the greatest artists of ancient times. The St. Catherine of Correggio; Mercury instructing Cupid in the presence of Venus, by Correggio, now in the National Gallery; the Madonna of Raffaelle, for which the Duke of Mantua gave a Marquisate worth 50,000 scudi; the twelve Emperors of Titian; besides pictures by Michelangelo, Guido Reni, Giulio Romano, Andrea del Sarto, and

Tintoretto. Nys thinks, however, that this wonderful and matchless collection is not complete without the acquisition of the marbles, belonging to the Duke of Mantua; they also should be secured and purchased for King Charles. The Duke of Mantua is involved in war, he is in want of money, and pledges many of his jewels; agents for the Queen Mother of France are in treaty for them; Nys therefore takes advantage of a favourable opportunity, and, without waiting for the King's directions, agrees to pay £10,500 for the marbles and pictures which remained. Among the latter he secured a priceless treasure, the nine large pictures of the Triumph of Julius Cæsar, by Andrea Mantegna, now in the Palace at Hampton Court. But Nys gets himself into trouble; he thinks to do his Majesty a great service, he has taken neither per centage nor brokerage, and he is sure he shall attain both honour and thanks by his contract, for no other Prince in Europe possesses such works of like rarity and beauty. He draws upon Burlamachi, the Rothschild of King Charles I.'s day, for the amount which he has already paid; Burlamachi will not accept his bills, the money not being provided for by the King; disputes arise, and litigation is spoken of; the English Ambassador is referred to, and Nys sends an Agent into England to represent the truth of the business. After considerable delay, all the works of art are sent to England, in various ships, which are named; the last are despatched on 25th July 1632, on board "The Assurance," and warrants are issued for the payment of the money, which amounts to the large sum of £18,280 12*s.* 8*d.*

Two Warrants, signed by the King himself, will be observed with the correspondence; one dated 23rd November, 1629, for the payment of £11,500; the other dated 25th July, 1631, for £2,454 14*s.* 3*d.* By extracts from the Order Books of the Clerk of the Pells,[45] it appears that £3000 was paid on the 15th December, 1630, by Warrant dated 23rd November, 1629—£1000 had been previously paid—and the remaining £7,500 on 3rd March, 1631. On 2nd March, 1631, £4,325 18*s.* 5*d.* was paid, by warrant dated 28th January, 1631;[46] and £2,454 14*s.* 3*d.* on 1st February, 1633, by warrant dated 21st August, 1632.[47] These amounts make a total of £18,280 12*s.* 8*d.*, which is the sum mentioned in an item of Burlamachi's account, dated 20th August, 1635. "A Coppie of the Lord Cottington's Warrante for the drawing and perfecting of Mr. Burlamachi's account."

XCIV. SEC. LORD CONWAY TO SIR ISAAC WAKE.

RIGHT HONO^BLE^: *Canterburie, June* 2, 1625.

HIS Ma^tie^ havinge sent over this gentleman, Mr. Lanier, to provide for him some choice Pictures in Italie,[48] hath commanded mee to will yo^u^, in his name, to give him yo^r^ best helpe and assistance in directinge him where

[45] Printed by Carpenter, pp. 186-7.

[46] This Warrant I do not find.

[47] The Warrant for this sum, see p. 337, is dated 25th July, 1631.

[48] On 13th June, 1626, a Warrant was issued to pay to Philip Burlamachi £2000, paid to Nicholas Lanier for pictures bought in Italy for the King's use.

such Pieces may bee had, procuringe him the viewe of them, and that then hee may buy them at as easie rates as yo^{u} can gett sett upon them. Hee hath Bills of Exchange for money, and it wilbe one speciall part of yo^{r} and his care, not to make knowne the cause of his cominge, because that would much enhance the prices. But I knowe yo^{r} discretion will guyde this and all other circumstances to the best ends for his Ma^{ties} service. And therefore I will coñitt all to yo good care and furtherance, and remayne

Your loveing father
faythfull frend and servant
E. Conway.

XCV. [49]NICHOLAS LANIER[50] TO PHILIP BURLAMACHI.

Worthy Sir : [? *September*, 1627.][51]

I humbly beseech you to coñand those inclosed noates to be delivered eyther to Mr. Porter or Mr. Cary for his Ma^{tie}, wth the inclosed letters. I hope, when the King hath perused them, he will think the thinges are worth

[49] This, and the following letter are printed by Carpenter, *without date*, p. 186.

[50] Nicholas Lanier, whose portrait Van Dyck painted as David playing upon the Harp before Saul, was Master of the King's Music. He was also commissioned by Charles I., on several occasions, to purchase pictures in Italy. The following letter, he addressed to Carleton at Venice, was written in February 1613, and taken over by Isaac Wake, Carleton's Secretary. "My Honored Lord,—So many are the favours by me receaved from yo^{r} Lo^{p}, that although I have noe waightier subject to wright on, and that I know you ful of more important business, yet doe I think myselfe bound to remember my love and service to your Lo^{p}. Newes I need not wright you, since Mr. Wake can better satisfie therein, then I. Only this I must let yo^{r} Lo^{p} know, that to me, the world semes so much altered, since the death of my good Master [Prince Henry], that I scarse know w^{ch} is the more dangerous attempt, eyther to turne Courtier or Cloune. I humbly beseech yo^{r} Lo^{p} to remember my service to my worthy Ladye yo^{r} wife, and tel her that I am providing something for hir to give a name to (according to hir promise) when yo^{u} returne, til when and ever after I rest yo^{r} true honorer and servant at coñand. Nich. Lanier." On 16th February, 1627, The Earl of Pembroke writes to Charles I. recommending a request of Andrea Lanier to have an allowance for keeping two boys :—"In the time of my being Chamberlaine, I observed a decay in yo^{r} Musicke of Wind-Instruments, for that theire were not any from theire childhood initiated in that kind of musicke, and that none, as yo^{r} Ma^{ty} best knowes, were so fitt for institution that way as the Laniers." There is a Warrant dated 7th February, 1628, for payment of £345 1*s.* 8*d.* due unto "Andrea Lanier, one of our Musitions, for his allowance of £59 12*s.* 4*d.* p^{r} Ann : and for the cloathing, diet and trayning up of two boyes for the wind instruments;" to "Nicholas Lanier, Master of our Musick, Jerome Lanier, Clement Lanier, Alphonso Ferabosco and Henry Ferabosco, our Musitions the severall liveries of £16 2*s.* 6*d.* a peece, for two years ended 30 November last past; as also the sum of £172 10*s.* 10*d.* yearely for satisfying the said allowances during yo^{r} Ma^{ts} pleasure." In an Account of Endymion Porter for £1000, received from the Duke of Buckingham, 21st July, 1621, occur these entries, "Given to Mr. Lanier £200 : Given to Ben Jonson £200."

[51] Sec. Lord Killultagh writes to Lord Carleton at the Hague on 25th May, 1627, "His Ma^{tie} desires you to take along with you Mr. Morton who is dispatched to Sir Isaac Wake, and when you shall send to the Archduchesse for a Passport for Mr. Laniere to desire also a Passe for Mr. Morton."

his mony. I am now making all the hast to Genoa I can, and hope to be returned hither w^th^ in 3 weekes. I humbly desier you to solicet his Ma^ties^ answer about the collection of Statues, as sone as may be, and coñand me that am, and will be ever

Yo^r^ humble servant to coñand
NICH : LANIER.

XCVI. PHILIP BURLAMACHI TO [ENDYMION PORTER].

S^R^ : [*October* 17, 1627.]

BY the letters I send you this morning you mai have seene Ni. Laniers demand. Hier bi the notes and descriptions send to mee. I praie lett me know his Ma^ts^ pleaseur, but above all where monie shall by found to pay this great somme. Iff it where for 2 or 3000£ it could be borne, but for 15000£, besides the other Engagements for his Ma^ts^ service, it will utterli put me out off ani possibilite to doe ani think in those provisions wiche are so necessari for Mi Lord Ducks relieve. I praie lett me know what I must trust, and so I rest

Yours at Coñand
PHILIPP BURLAMACHI.

XCVII. NICHOLAS LANIER TO ENDYMION PORTER.

WORTHY SIR : *Venice,* $\frac{\textit{December}\ 27, 1627.}{\textit{January}\ 7, 1628.}$

I HAVE receaved yo^r^ most welcome extreamely desiered letter, of the 29th of November, in wh^ch^ I find you tooke it ill that you heard not from mee at my first arrivall heere, and you had reason, 'till my just excuse made me faltless. Yet I assure you I writt to you from Brussels by my Lady Parham, and from Basell, under the cover of Sig^r^ Fasch one of the cheef Burgemasters there. When I arriv'd at Venice, wee heard you were gonne w^th^ the Duke, w^ch^ made me a while expect the certayntye ; but, by yo^r^ deare letter, I find you are still the same best frend, to be by me for ever religiously belov'd and honored above all others. Yo^r^ letter came to mee late this night and the curiour's hast will not let me say anny more 'till the next weekes dispatch. Then I will give you an account of yo^r^ litle Collection, and send you a list of some Marbles for the Duke, if he please to have them, and let you know what course wee shall take to send the Payntings home. Thus Deere Sir In hast, I kiss yo^r^ handes and remayne ever

Yo^r^ humblest servant
and true frend
NICH : LANIER.

Though the Duke of Mantua be dead and a Sonne of the Doge of Venice have murdred a Senator in St. Marks Pallace, yet I cannot forget to give

you infinite thankes for the favour you have donne my poore wife in getting her my Mony.

To my Hon^ble and best frend
M^R ENDIMION PORTER,
of his Ma^ties bed-chamber.

XCVIII. SIR ISAAC WAKE TO SEC. LORD CONWAY. (*Extracts.*)

Venice, February $\frac{8}{18}$, 1627-8.

RIGHT HONORABLE MY SINGULER GOOD LORD:

UPPON Satirday the 12 of this month stilo loci, I went into the College, at w^ch tyme I did discharge myselfe at once of diverse commissions, of w^ch your L^p shall now receave an account.

* * * * *

From these tearmes of justice, I did passe unto a point of grace, & being required by Mr. Nicolas Lanier, in the name of his Ma^tie, I did desyre of this Prince, that he would graunt free transportation, out of this Towne to the shippe at Malamocco, for such pictures, paintings, and other raritye, as had been provided in these parts for y^e adorning of his Ma^ties Cabinet.

* * * * *

Lastly concerning his Ma^ties pictures, they did declare, that not onely in that, but in any thing else, w^ch shall be repuired in his Ma^ties name, or for his service, they will alwayes be ready to serve him w^th alacrity.

* * * * *

Y^r L^ps most humble & most obedient sonne & servant,
I. WAKE.

XCIX. SEC. LORD CONWAY TO SIR ISAAC WAKE. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HONO^BLE: *Whitehall, Mareh* 26, 1628.

* * * * *

This morning his Ma^ty gave mee a solempne charge to desire your Lo^p, in his name, to enquire for Lanier his servant, whoe is in those parts about pictures, and that you would give him your best advice and assistance for the shipping of them, or at least by your next to give him advertisement whether the pictures bee shipped, in what shipps they are shipped, and when he may expect them.

* * * * *

Your Lordshipps
loveing father friend and servant,
CONWAY.

[*Translated from the Italian.*]

C. DANIEL NYS TO ENDYMION PORTER.

Venice, April $\frac{17}{27}$, *and May* $\frac{2}{12}$, 1628.

ILLUSTRIOUS SIR AND MOST ESTEEMED PATRON:

SIGNOR LANIER, who is the bearer of this letter, has truly used every care

and diligence to repair and trim up the pictures procured from the young Duke of Mantua, and has caused them to be incased and conveyed, by the ship Margaret, in a way in which his Majesty will be greatly pleased to see them ; and he will understand from him the course I have taken to obtain them. Since I came into the world, I have made various contracts, but never a more difficult one than this, and which has succeeded so happily. In the first place, the City of Mantua, and then all the Princes of Christendom, both great and small, were struck with astonishment that we could induce the Duke Vincenzo to dispose of them. The people of Mantua made so much noise about it, that if Duke Vincenzo could have had them back again, he would readily have paid double, and his people would have been willing to supply the money. The Prince of Guastallo profferred half the gain, I believe, to make them a present to the Emperor. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, and some of Genoa, have done the same ; and I am astounded myself at the success of this negotiation. It seems as though some fatality had favoured me, not for myself, but for the sake of him for whom I negotiated, I mean the King of Great Britain. Pray God they may arrive safe in port and that his Majesty may receive a lasting enjoyment from them. In treating for them, I used every artifice to obtain them at a moderate price ; as, had it been known that I was acting for his Majesty, they would have demanded so much more. At present I am in treaty at Rome to procure the picture of St. Catherine of Correggio, and hope to succeed. These wars against Montferrat are the cause of the Duke of Nevers pledging many of his jewels, but I doubt whether he will dispose of the marble statues, the list of which you have had before. In case his Majesty should desire to have them, will you please to let me know, so that others may not carry them off, and I will then do all I can to procure them to the best advantage. Moreover, I beg you will be pleased to assure his Majesty, that I will speedily give him advice of all that is fine that may fall into my hands, in order that he may become the master of it ; having entirely dedicated myself to his service, in all that he may judge me worthy of. Sigr. Lanier departed this evening with two pictures of Correggio, the finest in the world, and which alone are worth the money paid for the whole, God grant him a favourable voyage. I have provided him on all sides with good letters of credit. And so ending, I recommend myself to your good favour, and beg you will retain me in his Majesty's favour.

Venice, April 27, 1628.

Most Illustrious Sir,—It is now the 12th of May. The above is a copy of my last; and this serves to confirm the departure of Sig. Lanier, from whom I have letters from Bergamo of the 2nd May. He departed *vid* the Grisons for Basle in good health, and with five horses, God accompanying him throughout. He carries with him two pictures of Correggio,[52] in tempera, and one of Raffaelle, the finest pictures in the world, and well worth the money paid for the whole, both on account of their rarity and exquisite beauty. The ship

[52] Is not one of these the picture No. 10 now in the National Gallery, described at pp. 59 and 60 of "The Descriptive and Historical Catalogue," as "Mercury instructing Cupid in the presence of Venus," by Correggio?

Margaret must be now far advanced on her voyage. I have not as yet heard that she has arrived at London, so that his Majesty may see so many beautiful and exquisite pictures. Among them is the Madonna of Raffaelle del Canozzo, for which the Duke of Mantua gave a Marquisite worth 50,000 *scudi*, and the late Duke of Florence would have given the Duke of Mantua for the said Madonna 25,000 *ducatoni* in ready money: the man who negotiated this matter is still alive. Then there are the twelve Emperors of Titian, a large picture of Andrea del Sarto, a picture of Michelangelo di Caravaggio; other pictures of Titian, Correggio, Giulio Romano, Tintoretto, and Guido Reni, all of the greatest beauty. In short, so wonderful and glorious a collection, that the like will never again be met with; they are truly worthy of so great a king as his Majesty of Great Britain. In this negotiation I have been aided by divine assistance, without which success would have been impossible; to Him then be the glory. As companions to these pictures it will still be necessary to have the Marbles of the Duke of Mantua, the list of which you have with certain pictures comprised therein; and as he is now involved in a war, and is pledging many of his jewels, I fear some one will carry them off, nay, it seems that the Duke of Bavaria is in treaty for them. Your Lordship will thefore inform me of his Majesty's wishes. I believe they may be had (the war favouring us) for £10,000 sterling. So recommending myself to your favourable consideration, and praying God for your eternal preservation,

Your Lordship's
humble servant,
Daniel Nys.

Venice, May 12, 1639.

CI. SIR ISAAC WAKE TO SEC. LORD CONWAY.

Venice, April $\frac{18}{28}$, 1628.

Right honorable my singuler good Lord:

In your L^{dps} lre of y^{r} 26 of March, there is one clause, w^{ch} doth command mee to give his Ma^{tie} an account of Mr. Lanier,[53] as likewise of the Pictures by him provided, for his Ma^{ties} service, y^{e} ship uppon w^{ch} they were laded & the tyme of y^{e} departure of that ship. To discharge my selfe of that duety, I must here tell y L^{dp} that no care or diligence hath been wanting on the part of Mr. Lanier, who hath imbarqued them very well conditioned, uppon y^{e} Margaret of London, whereof Thomas Browne is Master, who did set sayle & goe out of this Port of Malamocco, upon Satirday morning y^{e} 15th of Aprill st^{o} n^{o} & is (as wee hope) by this tyme halfe waye out of y^{e} Gulfe, for although wee had here uppon the 18th following a furious storme, w^{ch} did some hurt to fishermen, and small vessells, yet having heard nothing of misadventure, wee do presume shee was got over into Istria or Dalmatia, before y^{t} storme fell, & that by consequence shee was out of danger, being indeed

[53] On 12th July, 1628, Hugh Ross writes to Sec. Coke, "I could not send a passport tell my man came back from Dover with towe sloupes that went over with prisonners and with M^{r}. Nickles Lanier that had goods for the King's use."

a tall ship, very strong & well manned w^th^ 37 mariners: In this buisiness I have donne whatsoever was commanded mee, by Mr. Lanier, & no more, & all that I did was this: First I did move y^e^ Prince here for a warrant to enport y^e^ Pictures w^th^out paying of custome, w^ch^ would have come to a round summe, & this was granted & effected: Secondly I went personally aborde y^e^ ship to see y^e^ cases orderly & safely stived, wherein I could observe nothing amisse: Thirdly y^e^ Marchants of this Towne being partiall, I employed my selfe to adjust betwixt Mr. Lanier and y^e^ Master of y^e^ ship, the point of Tonnage & wee agreed to rate it at one hundred tunne, in regard of y^e^ bulke & not of y^e^ weight: Lastly I have given them an attestation under my hand & seale y^t^ y^e^ ship is employed in y^e^ service of his Ma^tie^, y^t^ in case they should meete w^th^ any who, for some other service, should require men or munition of them, they may be priviledged; this is all y^e^ account y^t^ I can give y^r^ L^dp^ of y^t^ ship and pictures.

Concerning y^e^ person of Mr. Lanier, I can onely tell y^r^ L^ps^ y^t^ he daparted from hence yesterday y^e^ 27^th^ of Aprill st^o^ n^o^, w^th^ an intention to passe through Helvetia, Lorrain & so to Bruxelles; he hath a passeport of mine to facilitate his passage through y^e^ countryes of y^e^ Swisses & Grisons, whither I have written likewise to my servant Oliver to serve him & assist him in whatsoever he shall require in those parts: I have further caused a trusty guide to come from Bergamo hither expressly to undertake y^r^ care of his transportation, being a diligent & faithfull man, who hath long served mee in all my voyages, & acquitted himsel fevery honestly: & lastly I lent him my Barge, to transport him to Padoua, from whence he is to goe in coach as farre as Bergamo & there to take horse. He doth cary w^th^ him y^e^ best pieces of paintings, namely those of Coreggio, w^ch^ were in grotta at Mantoua, in regard y^t^ being in water coulours, they would not have brooked y^r^ sea & I hope y^t^ by that tyme this letter doth arrive, he will not be farre of:

So in all humility, I crave leave to kisse y^r^ L^dps^ hands & rest ever,

Y^r^ L^p^

most humble & most obidient

sonne & servant to command,

I. Wake.

[*Translated from the Italian.*]

CII. DANIEL NYS TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER.

Venice, *January* 23, / *February* 2, 1628-9.

Most Illustrious and most Excellent Sir,

my most esteemed Master:

I have heard, with the highest gratification, of the new dignity which his Majesty has conferred on your person, and am much cheered at it, but not surprised considering the high qualities which I have known in your Excellency. Pray God He may preserve you long in health, and give you the height of felicity, with that Crown of Eternal Life, which He has acquired by His own blood, for His elect.

Your Excellency knows that I was in treaty to induce the Duke Ferdinand of Mantua to sell me his pictures, who bit at it, and the Duke Vincenzo having assented, he sold them to me, for 68,000 *scudi*, to the great astonish-

ment of all Italy, and the extreme disgust of the inhabitants of the city of Mantua. I performed this action solely to acquire the favour of his Majesty, without having the least interest in that contract, nay, I have lost five or six months' time in negotiating, and in going backwards and forwards, and I kept Sig. Nich. Lanier in my house all that time without receiving anything. It is true that he wished to give me 500 *scudi*, but I would not accept them, nor do I intend to now ; all that I have done is for a single object, to acquire the good favour of the King, which I value more than all things in the world. Now, in treating with the Duke Vincenzo, he had reserved to himself nine large pictures of the Triumph of Julius Cæsar, by Andrea Mantegna, and had two new chambers built in which he had arranged them. He demanded 20,000 Spanish doubloons for them, an evident sign that he did not wish to sell them. The best informed persons told me that I had left the most beautiful behind, and that, not having the Triumph of Julius Cæsar, I had nothing at all ; this touched me to the core; I did not dare say anything for fear, his Majesty knowing it, might feel aggrieved; and I in part dissembled with Sig. Lanier, who, before his departure hence, had treated for the marbles and statues of the Duke, with some pictures which had been discovered in certain secret chambers. They demanded for these pictures 10,000 half doubloons of Spain, and for the statues 50,000 half doubloons, but it did not appear to Sig. Lanier, or to myself, that we could give £10,000 sterling. So the matter rested. Now the Duke Vincenzo being dead, the Duke of Nevers has come into possession of them ; and finding himself straitened by the war, he was advised to sell and pledge his furniture. While the Grand Duke, and also the Queen Mother of France, were treating for the marbles, a messenger arrived post from Mantua to advise me of it, but I would not then make any stir about these statues and pictures which I had viewed and reviewed with Sig. Lanier; not because they were not of worth or sufficient, but solely because I had received no orders from his Majesty. I declined them two or three times. Signor Julio Cesare Zaccarello, chief minister of the Duke, who holds all his customs and manages his revenues, then came to Venice. He said to me, "you commit a great error in not taking the Duke's statues and pictures ; they will be carried off by the Grand Duke or the Queen Mother of France." I answered, "let them take them who will, I will not." He replied, "I could get you the nine pieces of Andrea Mantegna, that is, the Triumph of Julius Cæsar ; can you not determine, because I know that the Duke Vincenzo would part with them ;" then I answered, "Yes, I will take them, but I will not spend more than £10,000 sterling for all the marbles and pictures, including those nine pieces of the Triumph of Julius Cæsar." The Duke not knowing the importance of these nine pieces was satisfied, and the same Giulio Cesare Zaccarello returned with an agreement drawn out for £10,500 sterling. There were no means of gaining time to advise his Majesty, but I, knowing the worth of the statues, that all the pictures were originals, and besides that, the Triumph of Julius Cæsar of Mantegna was a thing rare and unique, and its value beyond estimation, I thought to do his Majesty a great service and to gain his gracious favour by the transaction. I had not the least idea of any interest either in this or in the first purchase. I sought only the good will of the King. But I find that the negotiation has not been received in England conformably to my own sincerity, that they have sought the advice

of the Ambassador, in which I fully agree ; it gives me no annoyance, to know that it is not enough to be a man of sincerity and honour, but that one must stand hammer and fire like gold. Your Excellency may believe me when I say that all the statues now in England are but trifles compared to these, which have been proved to me to be far better and more valuable. By the next courier I will send your Excellency drawings of the statues, so that you may see the Deities they represent, and inform his Majesty of the same. As to the Pictures, I know they will please beyond measure, and that I shall have praise and thanks from all sides. One thing however troubles me ; having on a sudden disbursed the £10,500 sterling to the Duke of Mantua, and drawn on Sig. Burlamachi for the same ; he not having received the King's resolution, has redrawn on me, the moneys being due, they will soon become due here, nay part are already due, and I shall then be obliged again to draw on Burlamachi. May I beg your Excellency to see that orders be given to the said Burlamachi to honour my drafts for that sum, otherwise I shall lose, in an instant, the credit and honour I have enjoyed through life. I have no time to sell them to others, and even if I had I would not do so, seeing that I have, with so much affection, obtained them for his Majesty. After mature consideration, I judged it worthy, nay indispensable, that he should have them to season and set off those already in his possession ; and I feel sure that I shall attain by it both thanks and honour, other than which I do not seek. I await the order to send them ; the statues must go by sea in a good English ship ; and the pictures by land, *viâ* Basle to Middelburgh, where they will cross the water. If his Majesty will entrust the matter to me, I will take care that he shall receive them in good condition. And so I make my bow, praying God for your long life in conjunction with my wife and my daughter whom your Excellency held at her baptism.

Your most illustrious and most excellent Lordship's
most humble servant,
Daniel Nys.

CIII. LORD TREASURER WESTON TO SIR ISAAC WAKE. (*Extract.*)

My Lord Ambassad[r] : *Whitehall, January* 29, 1628-9.

I have receaved yo[r] letters of the date of the 6th & 30th of December [54] & thanke you for yo[r] carefull advertisements concerning the Pictures & Statues w[ch], by his Ma[tyes] directions, I did recommend unto yo[r] inquiry. I perceave his Ma[ty] doth continew his resolution to buy them & order is taking for the speedy making over the Bills of Exchange for that purpose, and therefore I must intreate you to use yo[r] best care and diligence that they bee not disposed of otherwise.

* * * * *

Yo[r] Lops: very loving Freind,
R. Weston.

[54] I regret that I do not find these letters.

[*Translated from the Italian.*]

CIV. DANIEL NYS TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER.

Venice, January 30, / February 9, 1628-9.

Most Illustrious and most Excellent Sir,
my most esteemed Master:

It is scarcely eight days since I wrote to your Excellency concerning the statues and pictures purchased of the Duke of Mantua for his Majesty. I then wrote that I would send drawings of the statues, which I have now done, together with a print of the nine pieces of the Triumph of Julius Cæsar, by Andrea Mantegna. I have sent the whole in a roll, directed to Mr. Matthew de Quester, to consign them to Sig. Philip Burlamachi, who has order to present them without delay to your Excellency, in order that you may show them to his Majesty. The prints of the Triumph are rolled up together, and the drawings of the statues and busts are rolled inside the prints. I have also added the greater part of the names of the said statues; they will be found much rarer than those I have written about. I entreat his Majesty to believe that I have had no private interest in this negotiation, but that pure zeal for his service and his pleasure has led me to bargain for these varieties at a seasonable time, well knowing, this opportunity past, they could not be had for any amount of money, and that I have had no other aim than the acquisition of the King's favour; this is, in truth, the real fact. Moreover, they are unequalled, and no other prince possesses anything of like worth and quantity. I bow to your good favour, praying God for your long life.

Your most illustrious and most excellent Lordship's
Most humble Servant,
Daniel Nys.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CV. DANIEL NYS TO [THE EARL OF CARLISLE].

My Lord:

Venice, January 30, / February 9, 1628-9.

Your Excellency has seen here the statues and pictures which I have bought of the Duke of Mantua for his Majesty. I most humbly entreat you to say to his Majesty that I implore him to believe I have had no interest in this negotiation. My zeal for his service and his taste led me to purchase these things at an opportune time; for I very well knew, this opportunity once past, no money nor treasure could have obtained them. Moreover, they are, and will be acknowledged, the rarest pictures and statues that any prince has in Europe. Under other circumstances, I should not have made the purchase, having no other object in this negotiation than to gain honour and merit, the gracious favour of his Majesty. This is the real truth, and may it please your Excellency to protect your servant in this business, for it will be seen that I have acted roundly and straightforwardly. I have

sent to Baron Carleton drawings of the statues and prints [*estampes*] of the nine pieces of the Triumph of Julius Cæsar, of Andrea Mantegna, so that their rarity may be the better seen, and no suspicion entertained of their being changed, which certainly will not be done, for my sole aim has been a wish to gain honour ; I neither pretend nor will pretend in this business to anything else. It will be seen that I have, as before said, paid the Duke the same sum that I have written for, and have taken neither per centage nor brokerage in this bargain : neither did I in the first bargain, nor do I claim any, the King's favour sufficing me, whose Grace I implore to be pleased to give orders that my bargain may be paid for, I having already disbursed the money. I have drawn for the amount upon Sig. Burlamachi, who, not having provision from the King to meet it, re-drew upon me, and I, in turn, am about to draw upon him again. If he does not pay this time, it will be my ruin ; for I have no time to bargain or sell them to others, as I might have done at first ; but having procured them for the King, I could not have the courage to let others have them.

In conclusion, I await his Majesty's orders for the payment of my bills as they fall due. I am sure when he receives and sees all the pictures and statues, that he will give me full credit for my good offices in this business. I very humbly take my leave, praying God to preserve you in good health.

Your Excellency's very humble Servant,
DANIEL NYS.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CVI. LORD TREASURER WESTON TO DANIEL NYS.

MONSIEUR NYS : *London, May* 15, 1629.

I WROTE to you four or five months ago that I would not fail to pay and satisfy the bills that you should draw upon Philip Burlamachi for the purchase of the statues and paintings which you have made for his Majesty ; but hearing they are become due, I must excuse myself, and beg that you will pay the bills of exchange which the said Burlamachi will re-draw upon you, and be assured that when you draw upon him again, they shall be paid and satisfied. This I promise you absolutely, in accordance with the commands I have received from his Majesty.

Begging you, in the meantime, to do your best to despatch the said statues and paintings as soon as possible, and on all occasions you may rest assured that his Majesty will not fail to acknowledge the good affection which you have shown in his service, neither will I, on my part, fail to represent to him your merits, and procure you satisfaction.

So I remain,
Your affectionate friend,
R. WESTON.

On $\frac{19}{29}$ July, 1629, Daniel Nys writes [in French] to Sec. Lord Dorchester thanking him for his gracious favour and good affection. He trusts the money will be ready to meet the bills he has drawn upon Burlamachi, as

the Lord Treasurer promised ; otherwise, his honour will suffer, "honour is so delicate, once lost it cannot be recovered." He expects English ships at Leghorn, in which he will send the statues and paintings, according to the King's commands. He also sends his Majesty a Catalogue [55] of the contents, with the names of all the statues, among which will be found a complete series of all the Roman Emperors to Probus [M. Aurelius Probus, A.D. 276], which is very rare, and no other prince has them.

On the following day Thomas Rowlandson [56] writes from Venice—"Mr. Niss is calling up his Ma^ties scolture for to send them with the first opportunity of shipping wich will not be until the beginning of Settembre and before that tyme I will procure licente for the transportation of them."

On the 10th September Lord Treasurer Weston writes to Nys, regretting his inability to provide this month for the bills which he has drawn upon Burlamachi, but promises to pay all, or the greater part, in October. He had asked Burlamachi how much there remains to be paid, and desires nothing so much as to complete this business, and to have an opportunity of assuring him how agreeable to his Majesty his services have been.

On the 23rd November, 1629, King Charles I. signed the following warrant for £11,500 on account of the pictures and statues bought by Daniel Nys of the Duke of Mantua :—

CVII. CHARLES R.

CHARLES by the Grace of God &c. To the Trẽr and Undertrẽr of o^r excheq^r for the tyme being greeting. Whereas we have contracted, w^th Daniel Nyz Marchant, for certeine pictures & statues w^ch he is to deliver for o^r use, for w^ch he is to have the soñe of eleven thousand fyve hundred pounds. Wee will and comand you, of o^r treasure remayning in the receipt of o^r excheq^r, forthw^th to paie, or cause to be paid, unto o trustie and welbeloved Phillip Burlamachi, Marchant, or his assignes the said soñe of Eleven thousand five hundred pounds for the said pictures and statues, for w^ch he is to passe his accompt before one of the Auditors of o^r imprest. And theis &c. Given &c.

R[ICHARD] W[ESTON].

This conteyneth yo^r Ma^ts warr^t to thexcheq^r to pay unto Phillip Burlamachi, Marchant, or his assignes, the soñe of £11500 imprest upon accompt for certeine Pictures & Statues for w^ch Yo^r Ma^ty hath contracted w^th Daniel Nys, Marchant. And is done by order of the Lord Viscount Dorchester.

WINDEBANK.

Ex. apud Westm^r vicessimo tertio die
Novembr: Anno R. Caroli quinto

[55] Unfortunately I do not find this Catalogue; it was no doubt delivered to Charles I.

[56] Thomas Rowlandson was appointed Secretary to Sir Isaac Wake, Ambassador at Venice, on the 20th June, 1626, and succeeded him as "*Agent at Venice*," 5th Dec., 1629, receiving an allowance of 20*s.* per day.

On the $\frac{20}{5}\frac{\text{March}}{\text{April}}$, 1630, Nys writes to Sec. Lord Dorchester complaining that the Lord Treasurer had not yet paid the money for the statues and pictures; and entreating him to prevail upon the King to command the Lord Treasurer to satisfy Burlamachi. He has sent twenty-five cases of statues by three English ships for England, and will send the remainder, which are the best and the most rare, by the first ships.

Unfortunately, disputes arose between Nys and Burlamachi about the payment of this money. Burlamachi lays great stress upon Nys having made the purchase of these statues and paintings of the Duke of Mantua, deceased, without any orders or directions from Charles I. Nys had sent his servant expressly to offer them to the King, who, after many applications and much persuasion, agreed to the bargain.

The business is referred to Rowlandson by Secretary Lord Dorchester. He recommends that not until all the pictures and statues arrive in England, and are approved of, should they be paid for. Legal proceedings seem to have been threatened. Rowlandson afterwards writes that he will endeavour to prevent "expensive litigation," and to accommodate these differences by means of arbitration.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CVIII. DANIEL NYS TO KING CHARLES I.

Venice, July $\frac{16}{26}$, 1630.

Sire:

I most humbly beg leave to inform your Majesty, in consequence of a great run on the bank here, that there are no means of cashing the bills for the statues. The Sig. Burlamachi has, on this account, quite altered his tone, and seems to have a wish to ruin me and draw me into litigation. There is no other course open to me but to come to your Majesty for assistance. May it please your Majesty to give Burlamachi satisfaction, all will then go smoothly, but if you do not do so immediately, both he and I, your humble servants, must be ruined. Burlamachi and D. Nys would rather suffer death than lose their honour; which, if it please your Majesty, may be prevented. Your Secretary, Rowlandson, has in his power all the statues and paintings, which are all fine and rare, and most exquisite. Those which I have sent by the ships, the 'Margaret,' the 'Unicorn,' and the 'Pearl,' were but the refuse, from which your Majesty must not form an estimate. The most beautiful have to come; and Mons. Rowlandson will send them by the first ships, which are hourly expected. There are some most rare pieces, which are estimated at from 5000 to 6000 *escus* each. If his Majesty does not promptly come to my assistance, my honour, myself, my wife and seven children are entirely lost. But I have faith in God, who will never, Sire, allow anyone to perish in your service. I most humbly take my leave, imploring gracious favour to

Your Majesty's

Very humble and devoted Servant,

Daniel Nys.

Two days after, Nys again writes to the King, informing his Majesty that he has sent his man, Giles Merisson, who will represent the truth of the business; and humbly entreats that Burlamachi may receive prompt payment. Nys also writes on the same day to Viscount Dorchester, begging him to induce the King to give satisfaction to Burlamachi, otherwise they will both be ruined, as his man, who, he requests Dorchester will assist with his advice, will inform him.

The following are

CIX. "DANIEL NYS' INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SERVANT."

You will address yourself, in the first place, to the Lord Viscount Dorchester, First Secretary of State, and will inform him of the whole business, and then you will act as he directs.

You will further inform him of the state of my house, and of the marriage of his little daughter, Cecilia. And you will tell him that you have orders to do neither more nor less than what he advises.

You will tell him that the statues sent are far from the best; that the finest are still here, waiting to be conveyed by the vessel hourly expected from Leghorn; that I might have had from the Queen-Mother 50,000 dollars, equal to £15,000, for them, besides all the expenses, which Sig. Burlamachi, now in Amsterdam, was advised by Sig. Lopez, agent for Cardinal Richelieu.

You will make known to all the grandees that the statues and pictures of his Majesty are daily visited here in Venice by all the great people of the city, as well as by foreigners. That all speak in admiration of their beauty and rarity, observing that the King of England will possess the most beautiful works in the world.

You will say that the reason I have sent the most inferior statues is, because I had directed all the finest to be exhibited, and not wishing to annul the order, or interfere with the concourse of visitors, I dispatched the worst; and that, further, I had not time to incase the rest, through the hasty departure of the vessel.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CX. DANIEL NYS TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER.

Venice, $\frac{\textit{July } 30,}{\textit{August } 9,}$ 1630.

My Lord:

I have just returned from a visit to Secretary Rowlandson, who read to me the letter your Excellency wrote to him by his Majesty's commands, in which Sig. Burlamachi inculpates Sig. Rowlandson for having done an ill office to Burlamachi. I beg leave to inform your Excellency that Sig. Rowlandson has never spoken to me ill or well of Burlamachi, but only told me that Sig. Cary had written to him saying, his Majesty had given orders

that I should receive payment. As to what your Excellency says, touching the contract for the statues and paintings, that payment was not to be made until they reached London ; nothing was ever said about it. Your Excellency may judge of this by the copies of the two letters from the Lord Treasurer. The statues and paintings which are here, are all at the disposal of Secretary Rowlandson, and are all fine and exquisite. Those which I sent were the worst and the refuse of the whole.

The reason that I was compelled to decline accepting any more of Sig. Burlamachi's bills was because he wrote to me on the 24th April last, that he was going to France, and did not wish his agents to be encumbered with my bills. Having no one upon whom I could draw, I was constrained to decline accepting any more, but humbly implored his Majesty to satisfy Sig. Burlamachi. Nevertheless your Excellency says that my proceedings have tended to the dishonour of the King. Surely not ; the ill is only between Burlamachi and me, and his Majesty may very easily set us right. If he directs payment to be made, all will be well. If we are not paid it will be the ruin of us both, or at least of one, and that will be me, who is the largest indebted. I pity my family, and humbly beseech the King not to let me succumb. I humbly bow down to the dust and pray God to watch over me and to protect your Excellency.

Your Excellency's very humble servant,

Daniel Nys.

CXI. THOMAS ROWLANDSON TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

Right Ho^ble my very singular good Lord: [*Venice*, *August* 27, / *September* 6, 1630.]

* * * * *

Towching the differences betweene Mr. Burlamachi and Mr. Niss all the hopes of this last is in his Ma^tyes Royall goodnesse, and therefore the mediatores cowld not conclude any thing within, he still expecting some comfortable newes out of England. In the meane tyme I have soe fare imployed my selfe, and laboured y^t Mr. Burlamachi's bills of exchange that hath bin protested showld be honored with the payment of them here for his reputation, as Mr. Sims at Mr. Niss and my instances hath already accepted of some of them, and I hope he will honore all the rest the next weeke. I praye God the total businesse betwixt them be accomodated without going to law, for I know not who to appeare in it according unto his Ma^tyes Commandments, in respect of those letters that Mr. Niss maye produce against my reasons wich would reflect much upon the reputation of his Ma^tyes service as I have already written unto your L^p, therefore I will not longer be troublsome unto [your] L^p but here beghe leave most humbly to kiss y L^ps hands

Your L^ps
most humble and most obliged servant

Tho. Rowlandson.

CXII. THOMAS ROWLANDSON TO LORD TREASURER WESTON.

(*Extract.*)

Venice, October $\frac{15}{25}$, 1630.

RIGHT HO^BLE MY MOST SINGULAR GOOD LORD :

As I gave y^r L^p addvertissement of the shipping of severall chestes of his Ma^tyes Statues and pictures upon the Rebecke and the London soe shall please your L^p to understand that I have lately consigned unto Mr. Richard Haddock, M^r of the Industrye, other 30^th chestes of statue and two of pictures, there remaining no more pictures, and onlye 16^th great statue, wich shall be sent, God willingh, in the Peeter Bone-venture layng now at an anchor in this port. The bills of lading for the former I have sent unto Mr. Burlamachi, and we shall the last as soone as the M^r hath receaved the chestes, I must confesse I doe longe to see them aboard, for this towne is heavilye aflicted with a great mortalitye. This weeke the burrialls hath bin dailye 300 and on daye 340 and wee feare it will encrease notwithstanding all the industrye, and care to free the cittye. All our neghbours hath banisht all sorte of comerce with us, nor will not give leave to any man of this towne to transmitte by them, much lesse to remayne. I dowbt I shall be forced to shutt my selfe up in my howse not knowing where to save my selfe and my familye, since the passages are all guarded very streetlye, but before I take any resolution I will see his M^tyes Statue sent awaye.

* * * * *

Y^r L^ps most humble and most faithfull Servant

THOS. ROWLANDSON.

[*Translated from the French.*]

CXIII. DANIEL NYS TO THOMAS CARY.[57]

Venice, June $\frac{3}{13}$, 1631.

SIR :

IN answer to your very agreeable letter, dated Greenwich, 13 May, st. vet. I wrote a week ago to Mons. Rowlandson, that being assailed by my creditors, who thought to bring me to the ground, I had suddenly opened my coffers and my house to them, and had said, Pay yourselves all, even to the last farthing, which they did. In this general removal and turn out, my people, in a back place, came upon paintings and statues belonging to the King my most gracious Master, at which I was greatly astonished and also rejoiced. I immediately advised Mons. Rowlandson and Mons. Burlamachi.

The Pictures are

Magdelen, half length. *Titian.*
Lucretia, naked. *Titian.*

[57] On 25th May, 1625, a pension of £500: per Ann. was "graunted to Thomas Cary, Esq., one of the Groomes of his Ma^tes Bed Chamber, during his life, payable out of the Exchequer, the first payment to begin at Midsomer next."

Three heads in one picture. *Titian.*
Portrait of a female in a green dress. *Raffaelle.*

Statues :—

A large figure in antique copper, very rare.
Figure of a woman sitting in marble ; some say *Venus delli Ely*, others *Helen of Troy.* It is the finest statue of all, and estimated at 6000 *escus.*
A child, by *Michelangelo Buonarrotti.*
A child, by *Sansovino.*
A child, by *Praxiteles.*

These three children are above price, and are the rarest things which the Duke possessed. I will send the whole by the first English ships. Besides the 72 V.D. [?] I beseech his Majesty to direct payment to be made to me, through Mons. Burlamachi, of 8 V.D. [?] and besides that I shall still lose 10,000 ducats in exchanges. I await this favour, humbly kneeling at his Majesty's feet ; and I kiss your hands.

Your very humble servant,
DANIEL NYS.

CXIV.

On 25 July, 1631, King Charles I. signed the following Warrant for £2,454 14s. 3d., being the remainder of the £15,938 17s. 8d., paid to Daniel Nys for divers pictures and statues. This also included £1,341 15s. the charges for assurance, freight, &c.

CHARLES R. :

Charles by the grace of God &ᶜ To the Trẽr & undertrẽr of oʳ excheqr. for the time being greeting. Whereas Daniel Nyx of France Marchant hath provided & bought severall statues and pictures for us, wᶜʰ we acknowledge for the most parte to have receaved, and that Phillip Burlamachi of London Mʳchant hath given satisfaccõn to the said Nyx according to an agremᵗ made at Venice by Thomas Rowlandson oʳ agent there and other Merchants, to the soñe of seventy two thousand ducats of that monie, amounting, in Sterling monie, to the soñe of fifteene thousand nine hundred thirty eight pounds seventene shillings & eight pence according to the accompt by the said Burlamachi delivered into oʳ Receipt. Upon wᶜʰ soñe he hath alreadi receaved the soñe of fourteene thousand eight hundred twenty five pounds eighteene shillings five pence, Soe that there remayneth due to him the soñe of one thousand one hundred & twelve pounds nineteene shillings threepence together with three hundred & seventie pounds for charges of a man and divers Posts sent to Venice to cleere the said accompt, and nine hundred seventy one poundes fifteene shillings by him disbursed for assurance, freight, and all other charges of the said pictures and statues, amounting in all to the soñe of two thousand foure hundred fifty foure pounds fourteene shillings three pence. Our will and pleasure therefore is and we doe hereby will and coñand yow of such oʳ

treasure as is or shalbe remayning in the receipt of o^{r} said excheqr forthwth to paie or cause to be paid unto the said Phillip Burlamachi or his ass^{ne} the said soñe of two thousand foure hundred fifty foure pounds fourteene shillings and three pence wthout farther accompt, imprest, or other charge, to be sett upon him or them for the same or anie parte or parcell thereof And theis &c. Given &c.

This conteyneth your Ma^{ts} warrant to thexcheqr to pay unto Phillip Burlamachi of London Merchant the soñe of £1112 19s. 3d. due to him as a remainder of £15938 17s. 8d. by him paid to Daniel Nys of France M^{r}chant for divers pictures and statues by him bought and provided for yo^{r} Ma^{ty} according to an agrem^{t} made at Venice by Yo^{r} Ma^{ts} Agent there, together wth the soñe of £370 for charges of a man and divers posts sent to Venice to cleere the said accompt and £971 15s. by him disbursed for assurance, freight, and other charges of the said pictures and statues, amounting in all to the soñe of £2454 14s. 3d. And is done by order of the Lord Trĕr.

WINDEBANK.

Ex. apud Bagshott vicessimo quinto
die Julij Anno R. Caroli septimo.
WINDEBANK.

CXV. THOMAS ROWLANDSON TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER. (*Extract.*)

RIGHT HO^{BLE} MY VERYE SINGULAR GOOD LORD: *Venice, September 30, / October 10,* 1631.

* * * * *

Concerning his Ma^{tyes} Statue and Pictures I have been earnest with Mr. Niss to consigne them unto me, and although he hath not yett done it, he professes that by the next weeke he will soe dispose that his Ma^{tye} shall see his trew devotion to doe him service, I will attende this few dayes although with impatience not liking of his deferring of tyme, having had soe long leasure to consider his dutye to God, and his Ma^{tye} that hath payed double the worth of them. My next I hope will bring unto y L^{p} a trew discoverye of the honestye of this man.

* * * * *

Y L^{ps} most humble and most obliged Servant
THO. ROWLANDSON.

[*Translated from the Italian.*]

CXVI. DANIEL NYS TO [SEC. LORD DORCHESTER].

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST EXCELLENT SIR,
MY MOST ESTEEMED MASTER: *Venice, October 7/17,* 1631.

MR. ROWLANDSON, Resident for his Majesty of Great Britain with the

Signory of Venice, has again made more attacks upon me, and would force me to consign into his hands the pictures and statues, which I hold, belonging to his Majesty. I would have done so, were it not that I may perhaps go, with the first English ship that leaves for London, and deliver them myself. I promise they shall be delivered in good faith, never having had the least thought of not sending them, secure that his Majesty in his goodness will satisfy me and honour me with his favor.

I humbly take my leave and submit myself to him, praying God for his long life.

Most illustrious and Excellent Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
DANIEL NYS.

CXVII. THOMAS ROWLANDSON TO SEC. SIR JOHN COKE. (*Postscript.*)

Venice, $\frac{\text{July } 27,}{\text{August } 6,}$ 1632.

THE Assurance, that carries his Ma^tes^ Statues and pictures, departed from this port upon Tuesdaye last [$\frac{25 \text{ July}}{4 \text{ Aug.}}$] God send her a good voiagge home.

The following Memorial from Daniel Nys to Charles I., written more than two years after Rowlandson's last letter, gives an account of the important purchases made by him for the King, and also shows that a considerable sum was then due to him for various services rendered to His Majesty.

[*Translated from the French.*]

Indorsed,—DANIEL NIS. *To be referred to certain Llds to consider of the valew of his pawnes & heare his propositions.*

MOST POWERFUL KING:

DANIEL NYS has for many years past served your Majesty's ambassadors at Venice, Wotton, Carleton, Wake, and my Lord Carlisle, and disbursed more than two thousand pounds sterling to Wake to support his house and enable his wife to return to England, which is still due to him. Furthermore, he has purchased the first paintings of the Duke of Mantua for 68,000 ducats, and kept the Sieur Lanier, with his servant, for a long time in his house free of any expence. And, in the third place, he has purchased for himself the last statues and paintings of the Duke of Mantua, which he might have sold to Cardinal Richelieu at a very great profit; but Ambassador Wake having orders from your Majesty not to permit them to be sold to anybody; which orders were given also to his [Nys'] man, who he sent post to England about this business, and who brought back with him letters to the same effect from the Lord Treasurer and Viscount Dorchester, your

Majesty's principal Secretary, which caused him to banish every other thought from his mind, so that he might conform entirely to Your Majesty's pleasure. But misfortune willed that the bills which he drew upon England and other places should not be met when they became due; being kept back, drawn and redrawn for the space of about three years, his credit entirely failed, and he was compelled to give up his business, which was the means of his losing more than a hundred thousand crowns' worth of effects, which he had in divers places. Nevertheless, as a matter of conscience, he paid everyone his due, part in current money, and part in pawns, which he promised to redeem at Christmas 1634; that time has expired, and he is not able to redeem his pawns, worth treble the sum he pledged them for. He is in danger of being completely ruined if not protected and assisted, by your Majesty's ordering to be paid to him three thousand pounds sterling, or thereabouts, still due to him on the above accounts, as also on the part of Mons. Wake. As your Majesty has so royally given him satisfaction for what else was due to him, the cause of his coming into this kingdom, and of being even presented by the Sieur Rowlandson, Your Majesty's agent, who assured him that he would certainly receive satisfaction; but finding greater difficulties than he imagined, he has deferred all this time making known to Your Majesty his present necessities. Even to avoid the present disbursement of money, he has proposed divers means to obtain finances, so as to be able to meet his payments without touching your Majesty's coffers. Among other things, the Spanish trade for nobles would produce great riches, and the increase of ships and mariners. And, in the second place, to clean the City of London, relay the gutters, pipes, canals, and other places through which the rain and water flow, so as to render the air more salubrious, and the city cleaner and more commodious for the inhabitants; all which cannot yet be put into practice, however much time presses. He is forced to resort to your Majesty to intreat him to take into his Royal consideration the long and considerable services he has rendered to your Crown, and to those dependent on it. To give order, if it so please him, to the person most fit to treat with him, to listen to certain propositions which he will make, by which Your Majesty may easily give him satisfaction. As also, to show and make known to him the value and condition of the pawns which he has left in the hands of his creditors, who offer to place them with any one whom Your Majesty may choose, as things unique and worthy the possession of so great a King. They will, nevertheless, be valued at so reasonable a price, that even Your Majesty will judge them to be worth double. This will redound to Your Majesty's glory, and relieve the miserable condition of his very faithful servant, who now finds himself in necessity. And will oblige him to pray to God, with his numerous family, for the everlasting happiness of Your Majesty.

APPENDIX I.

SIR TOBY MATTHEW.

Toby Matthew, the son of Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham and afterwards Archbishop of York, was born in 1578. He matriculated in 1589, when only eleven years of age, but appears by the following letter from Dudley Carleton "to his verie loving frend Mr. John Chamberlain," to have caused his parents, when at college, considerable trouble and anxiety. Though lying ill, his previous conduct caused his father to be very angry and bitter against him.

CXVIII. DUDLEY CARLETON TO JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

Oxford, January 10, [1597-8].

The barbarouse Bishopp after he had detained owr messinger five daies wthowt wellcom or answeare hath at last retorned him, but wth so unexpected and unnaturall replies as the like cannot be imagined. His answeare to the Vice chancellors letter was, that he had rather have heard of his sonnes death then his sicknes, although this doth somwhat please him, in that he sees God hath harkened to his praiers. He beegann his letter wth, what shall I write? or what shall I not write? He saith his sonn shall never recover his favour *Donec et quousque*. He saith he is a reprobate, a castawaie, an example above example of an irreverent and disobedient child, and to conclude One, *quem ipsa salus servare non potest*. He saith he is one who did impiouslie practise against his mother; his deare (and chast) mother, whose life he doth tender above seaven sonnes, yea seaventie seaven sonnes. And at last he entreats him to shew him no comfort, to undertake nothing for him, nor to be deceaved wth his Hyppocriticall shewes and melanchollie sicknes. He writt also to Mr. Prichard in all brevitie, skorne and disdaine, skarce in five lines, whereof this is one; Keepe y^{r} exclamations to some other purpose or else you are not so wise as God might have made you. And beecause he would not lett anie w^{ch} wisht well to his sonne escape him, he calls me the Unknowen Secretarie! The Unknowen Secretarie? *Maledicas illi, si me ames.* And yf I be not quitt wth this *Furioso Satirico Episcopo* in railing, then shall I think I have forgotten what beelonges to the reputation of a yong mans witt w^{ch} is not to putt up the Unknowen Secretarie at anie mans handes. Heere have happened manie accidents concerning the retorne of this messinger, w^{ch} I am loth to troble you wth, onely this you shall understand that the newes of him drave Tobie Matthew into so dangerouse a fitt that we feare, yf we should lett him know what newes is brought, yt would drive beeyond all his fittes. Wherfore wee doe keepe y^{t} from him, and not troble him wth yt, no more should I have done you wth this tediouse discourse but y^{t} I am willing to take anie occasion of writing to you. And so committing those

hartie thanckes, w^ch I owe to the Captaine and my Cosin Dormer, to y^r remembrance of them, W^th my best commendations, both to y^rself and them, I bid you farewell as I am sure you doe as long as you are at Askott.

Y^rs most assuredlie,

DUDLEY CARLETON.

It will, however, be seen that, some months after, the violence of his mother's displeasure was much abated, and that although his father "threatens fire and sword, his storms are such as commonly bring much fair weather after them."

CXIX. TOBY MATTHEW TO DUDLEY CARLETON.

S^R:

London, September 20, 1598.

I SHALL tell yow newes, which if I deceave not myselfe, yow will be glad to heer. The violence of my Mother's [58] displeasure is much abated, and there is hope y^t her passions will turne into their contraries. Neyther is it likely to be, like fayth without good workes, since for a testimony shee will beginn so well. So well, as I am putt into an assured opinion, that speedily shee will pay all my debtes. My father in the meane time, as a straunger to this accident (for he is a straunger to that which he sees, and will not see) threatnes fire and sword; but I doubt not, but his stormes ar such, as commonly bringe much fayre weather after them. The E. of Ormond hurt. The newes is y^t since the great overthrow theire ar 4 hundred more throates cutt in Ireland. S^r Frauncis Vere is commynge towardes y^e low countries, with him S^r Alexander Ratcliff and S^r Robert Drury. Well, honour prickes them on, and y^e world thinckes y^t honour will quickly prick them of againe. S^r Thomas Shurley hath taken 4 hulkes, the vessels easterlinges of Lubeck, but it is hoped the fraight is Spanish. They ar staied and a commission graunted to examine whether they be prize or no. Comberland hath taken St. Jean de Porterico, and there hath left S^r John Barkeley his generall; himselfe beeinge addressed other whither. The Court is at Nonesuch, where on Sunday my L. Cheife Justices expectation of becinge Councellour was deceaved. God be thancked. There was there a French gentleman, a Master of requestes and president of Lyons, brother to Mouns^r de Vicq, Governour of Calais, a man honorably intertained by my L. of Essex, and greatly commended by the Q. for his speech and other carriage. There were with him divers Almans wereof one lost out of his purse at a play 3 hundred crownes, A new play called, Every man's humour.[59] Our hostess M^ris Seton is dead. I must intreat a kindness of

[58] His mother, whose monument is in York Cathedral, was Frances Barlow, daughter of the Bishop of Chichester, her first husband being Matthew Parker, son to the Archbishop of Canterbury. She had four sisters who were married to four Bishops; so that a Bishop was her father, an Archbishop her father-in-law, four Bishops her brothers, and an Archbishop her husband.

[59] "Every Man in his Humour," by Ben Jonson, was first acted at a minor

yow ; that yow will procure me a Delph sword and dagger hatched in that countrey, and if yow come shortly bringe, otherwise send it by the first fitt meanes. I will pay for it at the receyt of it. I very hartily pray yow not to fayle me heerein. So I rest, in serious expectation to heer from yow with the first,

Your's most assuredly,
TOBIE MATTHEW.

He left England in July, 1604, having "license to travel for three years," and in July, 1606, writes to Carleton, "I thancke God I can say without vauntinge, that I am nothinge so errant a raskall as I was wont to be. For I have left swearinge and lyinge and * * * and gaminge but have not learnt that patience and humility that becomes a Christian." In February, 1607, just before his return home, he writes, "I would be glad of a letter from Mr. Francis Bacon, in answear of one I wrote to him, but I would not seem to desyre it. I pray yow [Carleton] cast your selfe in his way. See if you can learn (and send me worde) in what termes I stand with my father and mother, for I know not ; Mr. Bacon is like enough to give yow light therein." On his return to England, he was imprisoned for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to King James I., and suspected of having embraced the Roman Catholic faith. His letters show him to have been very fond of religious controversies ; and *while in prison*, in December, 1607, he offered to hold a conference with the author of a religious discourse whose ideas were at variance with his own. In February, 1608, he was "ordered to depart the realm," and in July, 1609, writes to Carleton from Florence, "To what purpose serves y^t^ protestation *to remaine constant in y^t^ beleefe wherein you were bredd, y^t^ a harty prayer to God in the next parish church is as effectual in God's sight as an Ave Maria in Loreto.* Did I minister yow any occasion of makinge this comparison ? Do not I know y^t^ a prayer made to Almighty God is acceptable, so y^t^ it be truly, harty, and made by a person y^t^ is in good disposition to pray," &c. He seems, from the following, to have used his best exertions, in 1616, to obtain leave to return to England, after an absence of nine years.

CXX. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)[60]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR L^P^ : *Brussels,* $\frac{\textit{September}\ 29,}{\textit{October}\ 9,}$ 1616.

* * * * *

I doubte not but that when your L^p^ heares from Mr. Chamberlen, you will understand that Mr. Secretary Winwood will doe me all favour in my suite, especially after he shall have spoken w^th^ him ; since whilest his honour was in the Country at Sheffield, he was pleasd to promise to divers

theatre in 1596, but Shakspeare, who appreciated its merit, introduced it to a more fitting audience at the Blackfriars Theatre in 1598. It is most probable that the above has reference to the *first* representation at that theatre.

[60] The first part of this Letter will be found, *ante,* pp. 14, 15.

of my honourable frendes all assistance in my behalf, as will appeare to your L^p^ by a letter w^ch^ was sente me from England of the 6^th^ of September ; for *I sende you here inclosed a part thereof.* I doe not followe the projecte of petitioninge to my LL^ds^ of the Councell, till first I heare answere from S^r^ Frauncis Bacon, as I am sure I shall within a weeke or two ; for he promised to deale industriously with the Kinge about my buisines. And although my frendes wrote to me out of England, that all the greate ones there, are well inclined towardes me, and that if my case come to the Councell table I may be sure that most voyces wilbe for me, yet I cannot induce my self to beleeve that I am to receave any helpe that way, nor indeed by any other, then the intercession of the Maister of the horse, beinge animated and encouraged by S^r^ Frauncis Bacon. I humbly thancke Jesus, that I finde myself in such a disposition, as that howsoever I doe affect and even doate upon the love of my Cuntrey, I shalbe yet well contented with the will of God, if he be not pleased that I goe thither.

* * * * *

Your L^ps^ humble and most affectionate servaunt,

TOBIE MATTHEW.

[*Inclosure, indorsed*]

CXXI. "A PARTE OF A LETTER SENTE TO ME THE 6^TH^ OF SEPTEMBER."

AT Sheffield I moved my Lord of Arundell and my Ladie Ruthen to intreate Mr. Secretarie Winwoode to favoure your suite, w^ch^ they both promised me to doe, and the same day, when he came to my Lord of Arundells chamber, beinge putt in minde of it, they performed theire promise. He helde your suite reasonable and friendly, promised then not only to favo^r^ your suite but to move the Kinge himself in it, and thought it a good way that a petition in your name should be exhibited to the Lordes of the Councell, grounded upon the promise they made you to move the Kinge for your retourne. And touchinge withall the other reasons you give to facilitate your sute, Sir Raphe Winwood hath shewed your letter, or at least tould my Lord Roos of it, and that he hath made this promise to my Lord of Arundell and advised this course w^ch^ I desired my Lord Roos to acquainte S^r^ Frauncis Bacon with, and then to take the course they shall resolve of. I have delivered your letter to my Lord of Arundell who came hither yesternight and is goinge backe to the Kinge to Windesore this morninge ; he assures me that he will intreate both my Lord Villars and Mr. Secretarie Winwoode to move the King in your sute this next weeke at his Ma^ties^ cominge to London. I hope well but specially in S^r^ Frauncis Bacon for there is an honourable minde and a greate love to you in that man.

[*Indorsed*]

CXXII. "REASONS W^CH^ MAY FACILITATE MY RETURNE INTO ENGLAND."

SOME nine yeares since, I was, not banished, but absented only with this clause, that I was not to returne till his Ma^ties^ pleasure were first knowne ;

The Lordes of the Councell were pleasd to promise, to this effecte, (as appeares by the Order it self) that they would move his Ma^tie for my returne upon notice had of my dutifull behaviour abroade. I have lived so these 9 years without any toutche of disloyaltie ; I have never accepted from any Prince or Prelate, one penyworth of interteynmente or pension ; I have, upon all occasions, published my self for the instance of his Ma^ties great clemencie and goodness towards me, in suffering me to enjoy my poore fortune, I have laied abrode w^th much satisfaction of the great persons of my Nation, and his Ma^ties Ambassadours and Agentes, whom I have had the honour to converse withall (wherein I remitt myself to theire testimony ; My estate in England is much intangled, partly by a suite in the Chauncerie, and partly by debtes, whereby (without my presence there) I am not able to make benefit of my estate, acordinge to that graunte w^ch his Ma^tie hath beene pleased to make me. I have offended only in the errour of my judgment and noe otherwise then thousandes of my profession in England, who yet are suffred to breath in the ayre of theire Countrey ; nay, I may be accounted to deserve more favour then they, rather then lesse, bycause I have made so long a probation of my fidelity and loyall affection to his Ma^ties sacred person and the State, in places of temptation and danger. Yf it should be doubted whether, in England, I shall carry my self w^th such modestie and discretion as is requisite, it is to be answered that I may instantly be sente out againe, w^th so much shame as I had rather die then deserve.

CXXIII. TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

MAIE IT PLEASE Y^R LORDSHIP: *Lovain* — *May* 24, / *June* 3, 1617.

* * * * *

About my goinge into England for a tyme, I thinke it be as good as graunted, upon the ernest motion whilest he was at York by my Lord of Buckingham, My L. Chamberlaine, my L. of Arundel, and Mr. Secretarie Lake, w^th whom alsoe my Mother joyned, and from whom my father disclaimed not. But my condition of beinge there is like to be soe hard, through confininge and conferringe, that I am not yet resolved to take speedy hould of the favour, unless I maie understand, as I am procuringe to doe, that it is such as I maie quickly be a gainer by, in all likelihood. When I know particularly how my case standeth, I will aske y^r L^ps advice if anie doubt remaine, and I will offer my selfe to y^r service before I shall depart that way.

* * * * *

Your L^ps humble servant
ever at comaundement,
TOBIE MATTHEW.

Secretary Lake says, on the 6th May, 1617, "Tobie Matthew is allowed to return home by the Duke of Buckingham's influence, and may stay if he will take the oath of allegiance."

CXXIV. SEC. SIR R. WINWOOD TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

St. Barthol: July 26, 1617.

Yo^r^ old ancient friend, Toby Mathew, is returned and gone into the countrey w^th^ my Lo: Keeper [Bacon] He once came to visitte me and to intreate my favour, w^ch^ if he receave not in that plentifull manner as perhapps he may expecte, it is not to be imputed to want of kindnes or affeccon in me, for I love his person & the good parts that are in him, but I must not be false to that duety I owe to the service of the King, and to that trust the state doth repose in me, to both w^ch^ nothing can be more dangerous, then that such menne, who professedly refuse the oath of allegeance should be cockered [61] or countenanced.

On 7th February, 1618, Chamberlain writes to Carleton, "Yesterday I met Mr. Tobie Matthew whom I had not seene these sixe moneths, since w^ch^ time, to my seeing, he is much defeated. He told me he was going to a play at the Blackfriers, but mee thincks playeing, and fridays fasting, agree not so well together as prayeing in a man of so much profession." He persisted in refusing to take the Oath of allegiance, and on the 11^th^ March following "receaved order to dispatche his business and to retire himself from hence." He also appears, about this time, to have been in the habit of "paying night visits to the Spanish Ambassador." We next find him writing from Brussels. Through Lord Chancellor Bacon's influence, he was again allowed to return to England. Soon after his return, he followed Prince Charles into Spain, and was Knighted by King James at Royston on 10 October 1623. He appears from the following letter to have been attached to the Court of King Charles I.

CXXV. SIR TOBY MATTHEW TO SIR D. CARLETON.

My Lord: *London, April* 27, 1625.

I would not fayle to present my auncient true love and service to Y^r^ L^p^, by occasion of this noble gentleman, my worthy frend the bearer hereof, Sir Henry Vane. And w^th^ all I will congratulate w^th^ y^r^ L^p^ the place & honour w^ch^ you ar towards, in this Court ; & accordinge to y^e^ best judgement w^ch^ now I can make both of persons and thinges, I do unfainedly assure y^r^ L^p^, y^t^ I conceave yow will find the way to y^r^ encrease both in honour & profitt, both streight and short, & I wish it may be so w^th^ my whole hart.

The Kinge is well, active, resolute and a frend of state & order in his Court. The noble Duke, is now not perfectly well in health ; but hugely high in y^e^ substantiall part of the Kinges favour. My Lord Conway is the greatest instrument in the dispatch of business ; & after y^e^ noble Duke, the Kinge heers no Counsayllors so gladly, as my Lo : Treasurer, & my Lo : Chamberlayne. S^r^ Henry Vane is lately receaved into my Lo. Dukes favour & love, & hath longe been well rooted in y^e^ Kinges hart ; & hath a world of

[61] Indulged or spoiled,—*Halliwell.*

great & fast frends in the Court. But y^r L^p hath a better prospect upon this place then I can give yow, yet even this little yow will not take ill from me. God keep y^r L^p & I continue

Y^r L^ps, faythfull frend &
humble servant,
TOBIE MATTHEW.

He accompanied the Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, thither, but, when the Rebellion broke out, left his native country and joined the Jesuits of Ghent, where he died October 13, 1655, aged seventy-seven. A Poet, a Painter, and a man of Gallantry ; he was also a most zealous Roman Catholic, and it is more than probable that he exerted his influence to promote that Religion. Walpole says that he painted a Portrait of the Infanta of Spain ; the famous character of Lucy Percy, Countess of Carlisle, first printed in his volume of "Letters," was the production of his pen.

APPENDIX J.

JOHN TORRENTIUS.[62]

THE following Letter, from the King's Resident at the Hague, will show the great interest which Charles I. took in this artist. Mr. Carpenter has printed a letter from the King to the Prince of Orange, dated in May, 1630,[63] in which his Majesty intercedes for the release of Torrentius from imprisonment, and promises to "take good care to keep him within the bounds of duty, and of the reverence he owes to religion, and to employ him here [in England] in the exercise of his art."

[62] JOHN TORRENTIUS was born at Haerlem in 1589, and was so well instructed, that without quitting his own country he became an admirable painter. At first his subjects were generally objects of still life, tables furnished with books, vases filled with flowers, &c., which were valued at a great price. While he continued to paint such subjects he lived in affluence, and was much respected. But he grew dissolute, both in morals and in his style of painting. His favourite subjects became offensive to modesty, and often most obscene. His friends endeavoured to reclaim him but could not. At last he rendered himself obnoxious to the magistracy : his lewd paintings were burned by the executioner, and he was condemned to the torture, and finally sentenced to imprisonment for twenty years. He endured the torture with a firmness worthy of a better cause, and after a short confinement was released at the request of Sir Dudley Carleton, King Charles I.'s agent at the Hague, after which he went to London ; but the profligacy of his manners obliged him to return to Amsterdam where he died in obscurity in 1640.—*Pilkington.*

[63] Appendix to Memoir of Van Dyck, pp. 192-3.

CXXVI. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SEC. LORD DORCHESTER.

Hagh, December $\frac{5}{15}$, 1630.

RIGHT HON^BLE MY VERY SINGULAR GOOD LORD:

THE bearer hereof is Torentius, who hath bin long preparing himself for this journey, and now beeing to sett forward, hee hath desired of mee addresse and recommendation unto yo^r Lord^p. Concerning whome I have not much to say above what I have advertised to yow heretofore. Hee caryeth with him part of those pictures which heretofore you^r Lord^p hath seene in this place, to shew for samplers of what hee is able to doe; and much more hee promiseth against such tyme as his Ma^tie shall have pleased to imploy him in his service; seeming to make light account of all hee hath done hitherto in comparison of that hee will doe hereafter. And howsoever that since his release out of prison, hee hath spent his tyme here without painting any (that I know, allthough hee were intreated to it) yet the generall opinion of his abillityes that way, is such, that I doe hope his Ma^tie shall receave good satisfaction in him. I have not failed to admonish him of governing his tounge & actions in better sorte than hee did here; especially in things concerning religion; least that otherwise a greater evill doe befall him in England then any hee hath mett with on this side. And withall have given him such incouragements for his well beeing ther, as heretofore you^r Lord^ps letters have commanded mee. And for ought I can discerne of the man, I am easie to beleeve, hee is neither so Angelical as his friends proclaim him to bee, nor yet so Diabolical as his adversaries doe publish him; but doe rather wonder, at the great impressions that have bin had of him, either way, in this Countrey. And for the rest, I finde him to bee a man civill in conversation, discreet, and (whatever secreet opinions hee may have) unlikely to give any scandall nor yet to dogmatize or dispute; which he professeth never to have done in his life: as haveing never studied any thing but Painting and that part of Mathematicks which is needful for that Science. Which beeing all I have to say of him, I doe humbly pray you^r Lord^p: that as yow were a principall means in procuring his release, soe that yow would still continew your favour to him. And these serving for no other subject, I take leave and rest

Y^r L^ps

most humble servant,

DUDLEY CARLETON.

[*Indorsed*]

CXXVII. "A NOTE OF TORRENTIUS' PICTURES, 1629, AT LISSE AND HARLEM."

OF TORENTIUS PICTURES THERE BE AT A FRENDS HOUSE IN LISS NEER LEYDEN, 7 PEECES.

1. ON a round bord donne 1614 is his fynest peece w^ch is a glass w^th wyne in it very wele donne, between a tynne pot and an errthen pott, a sett song under it and a bitt of a Brydle over it.

2. A Woman, whose back only is seen, holding a purse in one hand and leaning on the other and written on it *que bene latuit bene vexit* and therin he showeth his skill in stanwick work. This peece hath w^th^ it a deathes heade and a booke and on that booke a spyder, it hath also a looking glass and two arrows.
3. A Mary Madalen w^th^ a Cross and a booke and a lamp, and a deathes head w^th^ an arrow in the mouth of it. This is held one of his best peeces and is shutt upp w^th^ folding leaves wheron books are paynted. He hath expressed a great deale of sorrow in her countenance, her eyes almost wept out.
4. Another peece where is his owne picture on the syde of an earthen pott. This peece is not finish^d^, it hath also another earthen vessell w^th^ a glass and a pype of Tobacco and a flute lying by it.

The other 3 were deathes heads, and lamps and books, and scrolls of parchment, of w^ch^ one hath writen on it *memento visu.*[64]

His other [licentious] pictures such as his frends saye he intended should never be seen, ar to be seen in the toun house at Harlem.

One is an Adam and Eve, his fleshe verry ruddy ; theye show there syde faces.

The other is a woman . . . . . .

The best of those 3 is a young (woman) siting somwhat odly w^th^ her hand under her legg.

APPENDIX K.

ABRAHAM VANDERDOORT, &c. &c.

[*Indorsed*]

CXXVIII. "M^R^. VANDERDOORTS REQUEST KEEPER OF THE CABBINET ROOME TO THE PRINCE."

[*April* 21, 1625.]

Greeting wheras while wee were Prince, out of our meere motion having ordeyned and appointed and by these presents doe out of our speciall grace and meere motion alsoe now ordeine and appoynt our welbeloved servant Abraham Vanderdoort Esq^r^ to bee the Keeper of our Cabbonett Roome now in our Pallace of St. James, or wheare we afterwards shall think fitt to appoint the same, w^th^ the Meddalies and limbed peeces and all other rarities belonging therunto or hearafter may belong, and alsoe to have the colecting, receiving, delivering, soarting, placeing & remoaving and causing of making by our appointing such things as wee shall thinke fitt & alsoe to keepe a Register booke of them and all other services as he shall know from o^r^self and receive

[64] Also a small picture, by Torrentius, which is of two little rummekins, alluded to by Lord Dorchester in his letter to Lord Arundel of 26th Jan., 1629, see *ante*, p. 292.

direction. And, in consideracõn of y^t^ service donne, wee are graciously pleased to allow him the heretofore had yearlie annuity of £40. w^th^ an augmentacõn of £10 more to be maide up £50 yearly, to bee paid quarterly, during his naturall life.

Wheras out of the especiall notice w^ch^ wee have taken of the exsperiance skill and understanding of our trustie and welbeloved servant Abraham Vanderdoort Esq^r^ therfore wee have thought him the fittest and chosen him for y^t^ sarvice in for the provyding by our selves owne appoynting such pattrons wherby wee are pleased y^t^ our Minte Graver shall make punshions by, for our Gold and Silver coynes, to bee coyned. In consideracõn of y^t^ sarvice therin donne and hearafter to be donne, we eare graciously pleased to rennew the grant of £40 p^r^ Añ heretofore graunted by us to him w^th^ an augmentacõn of £10 more to bee maid upp £50 p^r^ Añ yearly fee to be paid it quarterly during naturall life.

His humble suit and desire is y^t^ these 2 grants of £80 p^r^ Añ may be joyned together, under one great seale, w^th^ an augmentacõn of £20 more soe to be maid up £100 : p^r^ Añ to be paid it quarterly during his naturall life.

Whereby I may be the better inabled
to performe your Ma^ties^ sarvice.

CXXIX. OFFICERS OF THE MINT TO SEC. LORD CONWAY.

RIGHT HO^BLE^ : *From the Mynt, January* 7, 1625-6.

WEE having delivered unto yo^r^ Ho^r^, one patterne of three of the Kings Ma^tes^ Efigies for a peece of 20s. of gold only, struke in gold and leade together, with the patterne thereof made by Abraham Vanderdorte and shewed by him to his Ma^te^, w^ch^ his highnes approved, doe farther humbly intreate that you would be advertised, and signify so much unto his Ma^tie^ from the reporte of us the Officers of his Minte, that the generall monyes of gold, by us to be coyned, cannot be struke in all poyntes answearable to the patterne delivered, for theise reasones following. The imbossementes are made so high in the patternes, that they will not rise in the moneys, the monyes being so broad and thinn as they now are made. The second is, for that the quantity of monyes weekely by us coyned, for the use of the subjectes, will not be performed, the monyes so curiously donn will aske a longer tyme, and so deferr the subjectes paymentes, w^ch^ wilbe a cause for hindring Bullion to be brought to the Mynt. But, if his Ma^te^ shalbe disposed to have some few numbers of 3£ and 5£ peeces curiously donn for his pleasure, they will not hinder the necessitous speed of the Mynte, but may be effected accordingly. So with our humble dutyes wee rest

At yo^r^ commaund,

RICHARD ROGERS, Controller.
AND. PALMER, Assay M^r^.

CXXX. LORD DANVERS TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

My Lo: *April* 9, [1616].

* * * * *

That speciall picture of the Creation is now coum home, seeminge perfect inough, but beinge tow grave for my present use, if you please to send me from thence soum toyes fitt to furnishe a lodge in exchaynge I would willingly paye any od monye disbursed above that rate, but they must be of the best handes whearin I have noted y^r^ eye excelent.

* * * * *

H. Dañers.

CXXXI. LORD DANVERS TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

My Lo: *St. James this* 23 *July* [1616].

I did rather piche the prise how this picture of the Creation might be redeemed out of my handes, then prescribe unto y^r^ Lo. the purchase of thoes curius peeces in such high esteeme, bycause indeed toyes of that kiend would better content me then this exquesite wourke. But now I leave the exchaynge to y^r^ Lo : own conveniencye, and will expect that promised glass,[65] if not boeth, for thoes I had ar geven awaye.

* * * * *

I conclude and remayne readye to love,
honor and serve Y^r^ Lo :
H. Dañers.

CXXXII. THOMAS LOCKE TO SIR D. CARLETON. (*Extract.*)

Right ho^ble^ : [*London*], *February* 21, 1624-5.

* * * * *

The Marchants of the East India Companie had sett a Painter, called Greenebury, on worke to sett forth in a Table the whole manner of torturing the English at Amboyna & the matter with all circumstances should have bin acted in a playe verie shortlie ; but the Duch Ministers intimating the same to the Councell fearing that it might bee the cause of some tumulte

[65] On 7th October, Lord Danvers writes, "Lett me also acknoledge y^r^ favor in the receipt of this glass, although I will treat no more concearninge pictures untill y^r^ Lo. shall promis to laye aside that magneficence of gevinge." Carleton must have insisted upon Lord Danvers keeping the "Creation," and doubtless made him a present of the glass. In July, 1619, Danvers sent this "Creation" [by Il Bassano] to Antwerp in exchange for a picture to be painted by Rubens.—See the Correspondence on this subject, *ante*, p. 48, *et seq.*

now at Shrovetide, the Ll. tooke order for the staying of all, & the Marchants & the Paynter were checked for their labors.

* * * * *

Y^r L^ps most humble servant

TH. LOCKE.

CXXXIII. SEC. LORD CONWAY TO SIR ISAAC WAKE.

RIGHT HONO^BLE : *Whithall, May* 27, 1625.

I HAVE an earnest request to yo^u, that yo^u will doe mee the favour to provide for mee, in those parts, three or fower principall choice Pictures, originall Pieces, and made by the best Workmen. I will not stand upon anie price, nor anie other thinge but that they may bee such as may w^th creditt bee presented to a noble freind and there find acceptacon. I can give yo^u noe more particular direccon, but that I would bestowe £200 or £300 or more upon one or more very curious Pieces accordinge to yo^r Judgment, and choice, and will make present payment of the money to anie yo^u shall direct mee to here. I pray yo^u excuse this troble I put yo^u to, and comaund mee in all things as

Your loveing father
frend and servant,
E. CONWAY.[66]

CXXXIV. SIR PETER WYCHE[67] TO ENDYMION PORTER. (*Extract.*)

NOBLE S^R : *Constantinople, February* 20, 1628-9.

HAVING understood of y^r departure out of England, and in such an imployment as I presumed might keepe you abroade some time, I have forborne (ever since June last) to write unto you ; And in y^r absence acquainted S^r Fran^s Cottington what I had done aboute statues, sending unto him latelie the draft of two, w^ch have the fame of most exelent ones, the one supposed to be Diana, y^e other a grave Matrone. They are at Sio, and two men are in strife for them, but I shall decide the difference and take them from them booth. Mr. Pettye desired infinitelie to have them and yf he be in England, he will tell you more of them. Some others are procured likewise at Sio, and shalbe sent home by the next shipp. I am out of purse above 400 dollers for them and have given order to all

[66] Ant. Tracy writes to Lord Conway from Florence, 28 May, 1633,—"I intend to bespeake a peece of Paintinge to be made for your L^p by the hand of a Painter of much esteem here, I presume your L^p will allowe of it although I doe it without your comission and doe perswade myselfe that, when you shall have it, you will saye I have done you an acceptable servis.

"It is the ship named the Gronata whereon your cheast of Bookes are sent."

[67] Sir Peter Wyche received instructions as King Charles I.'s Resident in Spain about April, 1625. He was knighted on December 16, 1626. His credentials as Ambassador with the Grand Signor are dated November 12, 1627.

places for the obteyning of what can be heard of, but the right waye in my opinion is, to imploye one purposelie therein, wherefore I could wish that his Ma^tie would be pleased to command a thousand pound to be remitted unto me, whereof I would give a just accompt, and imploye y^r old servant Hubbert in search of them, who would performe yt w^th a greate deale of industrie.

* * * * *

Y^r true servant
P Wyche.

CXXXV. SIR PETER WYCHE TO ENDYMION PORTER. (*Extract.*)

Noble S^R: *Constantinople, January* 22, 1629-30.

Uppon the shipp Rainebowe, whereon M^r Chandler (the bearer heereof) taketh passadge, is put aboarde all such statues as I have formerlie given you an accompt of. Viz: there is laden at Scio, two statues of Weomen: the one supposed to be Diana of Ephesus, and the other, some grave Matrone; likewise two Weomens heades, the one supposed to be that to the Diana, and the other an exquisite pece; they are in chests, and I hope they will arrive well. These be those for w^ch I had so much adoe aboute, and yt maie be S^r Tho. Roe will pretende them, or at least indeere his right unto them: but, I have paide the monie for them, from the verie first daie. There is laden at Smirna likewise, 19 Statues smale and greate, some of them I heare are rare peeces, and yf they prove so, I shall thinke my labour well bestowed. You will be pleased to give an accompt heereof unto his Ma^tie, and how these be all I have bin able to accompasse since my arrivall in these partes, and I beseech you let me knowe how acceptable they be, and whether I shall goe on in that service still.

* * * * *

Y^r most humble and affectionate Servant
P^R Wyche.

CXXXVI. SIR ARTHUR HOPTON TO LORD COTTINGTON. (*Extract.*)

My Lord: *Madrid,* $\frac{\textit{July } 26,}{\textit{August } 5,}$ 1638.

* * * * *

I shall have the King and Queenes pictures for the Queene. I delivered those her Ma^tie sent,[68] w^ch were discovered to be no Originalls. They are now become more judicious in & more affectiond unto the Art of Paynting, then they have beene, or then the world imagines. And the King w^thin this 12 moneth, hath gotten an incredible numb^r of ancient & of the best moderne hands & over w^th the Conde de Monte Rey came the best of Italye, particulerly the Bacanalian of Titian & in this Towne is not a peece worth any

[68] The following note is attached to an account delivered by Van Dyck to King Charles I. towards the end of 1638:—"More for the pictures w^ch Sir Arthur Hopton had into Spaine, £75."

thing but the King takes & payes very well for them & in his imitation the Admirante Don Lewis de Faro, and many others are making Collections. I beseeche y^r L^p aske of S^r Jeames Palmer what a peece maye be worth of old Brugel[69] of a yeard long, full of antique Figures & w^t one of the same size of Jer^mo Bosco[70] may be worth ; for my part I am but a Spectater in these matters, for all I have I hould little enough to furnish to his Ma^ties service & hon^r,

Ar : Hopton.

CXXXVII.

On 4 February, 1629-30, a Warrant was issued "to pay unto William Jacobs of Delft the some of £100 : for pictures sent unto H. M."

CXXXVIII.

On 7 November, 1650, Myles Wood Shawe writes to Lord Viscount Conway, "I have spoke with Mr. Cooper, the Painter, and hee desires your Hono to excuse him one moneth longer, because hee hath some worke for my Lo: General Cromwell and his family to finish."

[*Indorsed by Carleton.*]

CXXXIX. "COPIE OF A NOTE GIVEN ME BY JAMES BAP^TA CRESENTIO, TOUCHING PICTURES." [*? about* 1614].

Price of the Pictures in double silver.

	DUCATS.
Moses with the history of the serpents, by the hand of Caracholi, 600 ducats in silver	600

[69] Peter Breughel, called the old to distinguish him from his son, from whom descended a family of artists. He was born at Breughel, a village near Breda, in 1510, and learned the first principles of his art from Peter Koeck, whose daughter he afterwards married. He went to Italy and studied amidst the mountains of the Tyrol, and the magnificent scenery of the Alps ; as also the finest works at Rome. On his return to his own country he resided some time at Antwerp, from whence he removed to Brussels; but, while employed by the Magistrates in taking views of the canal which falls into the Scheldt, he died in 1570, aged 60. Breughel excelled in landscapes and droll subjects resembling those of Teniers. His best performance is in the Imperial Collection at Vienna, the subject of which is the "Building of the Tower of Babel."—*Pilkington.*

[70] Jerom Bos. This extraordinary artist was born at Bois-le-duc, about 1470. He had a peculiar pleasure in painting spectres, devils, and enchantments, and though he possessed considerable powers as a painter, yet his pictures rather excite horror, mixed with surprise, than real delight. The most remarkable painting in this artist's hand is in the Escurial. It is an "Allegory of the Pleasures of the Flesh," in which he represents the principal figure in a carriage drawn by monstrous forms, preceded by demons and followed by death. In the Church of Bois-le-duc is a picture by him of the "Flight into Egypt," which is well executed. He died about 1530.—*Pilkington.*

The challenge of the Goddesses and Muses, by the hand of Roso, 400 ducats	400
The shipwreck of St. Pablo (Paul ?) small, by the hand of Adam, 200 ducats	200
The virgin going into Egypt, small, by the same, 100 ducats	100
Diana of Paris Bordone, although there are painters who say it is Titian's, 80 ducats	80
Four landscape pieces of Labrador, at 25 ducats each, 100 ducats	100
	1480

The master of these pictures has not formerly been willing to part with them at these prices; now he gives them up that his Majesty may be served by them, and is sorry not to be in a position to be able to give them entirely and without any price, as he desires, and it were right to do.

CXL. A NOTE OF ALL SUCH PICTURES AS YO[R] HIGHNES [KING JAMES I.?] HATH AT THIS PRESENT, DONE BY SEVERALL FAMOUS MASTERS OWNE HANDS, BY THE LIFE.[71]

1. Inprimis. King James the 3[d] of Scotland w[th] his Queene, donne by Joan Vanak.
2. Item a Venetian Senato[r] donne by Joan Tibulini.
3. Item a Head to the wast donne by ould Quintin.
4. Erasmus Roterodamus donne by Holbyn.
5. An ould woman of Hempscherch.
6. The Empero[r] at whole length by Titian.
7. A head of a Venetian Senato[r] by ould Tintorett.
8. King Phillipp the 2[d] of Anthonio More.
9. Lazarus Spinola's head by Caius.
10. The Prince of Orange, by Michael Johnson.
11. Yo[r] highnes owne picture by Blyemberch.
12. The late Queenes picture by Paule Vanzomor.
13. The Marquesse Hamilton, by Mytens.
14. Titian & Arentyne, by the yong Quintyn.
15. Peeter Paule Rubens one picture done by his owne hand.
16. The Kynge Henry the 4th of Fraunce don by Bonnell.
17. His Queene mother of Fraunce done by younge Purbus.
18. The Duke Charles of Burbon done by
In lymminge as followes
19. The Queene of Scotland with the Dolphin of Fraunce of Gennetts doeinge.
20. An other gentlewomans in hangeing hayre done by y[e] old Oliver.
21. The Earle of Northumberland done by old Hilliard.

[71] This List was probably written about 1623 or 1624. From No. 15 to the end is in the handwriting of Balthazar Gerbier. The first picture in the List is the one which has lately been removed to Edinburgh and has formed the subject of a critical pamphlet by David Laing, Esq[re].

CXLII.

CHARLES R.: *Westminster, July* 2, 1625.

Charles by the grace of God &c. To the Trēr and Undertrēr of our Exchecq[r] for the time being, greeting. Wee will and commaund you, out of our treasure in the Receipt of our Exchecq[r], to cause paiment to be made unto Daniell Mittens our Picture Drawer, or his assignes, of the soñe of one hundred and twentie pounds in full satisfaccõn for a coppy of Titians great Venus, by him made and delivered in at Whitehall for our use and service. The said soñe to be taken to him w[th]out any accompt, imprest, or other charge, to be sett upon him, his heires, executo[rs], administrato[rs], or assignes, for the same or any part or parcell thereof. And this our lrēs &c. Given &c.

This conteyneth your Ma[t's] Warrant to the Exchecq[r] to pay £120: to Daniel Mittens, Yo[r] Ma Picture Drawer, for a Coppy of Titians great Venus.

By order of the Lord Chamberlaine.
Fra: Galle.

Exp[r] apud Westm[r] secundo die Julii
Anno R. R. Caroli primo.
p[r] Windebank.

APPENDIX M.

THE LIBRARY OF ERPENIUS.[72]

The following letter from Dinley to Carleton, written soon after the death of Erpenius, possesses no little interest. The Duke of Buckingham, as we

[72] Erpenius, or as he was called in Dutch, Thomas Van Erpen, was born at Gorcum, in Holland, on September 7, 1584. At ten years of age he was sent to Leyden to be educated, took the degree of M.A. in 1608, and then travelled through the greater part of Europe. In February, 1613, he was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Leyden, and subsequently Arabic Interpreter to the Government of the Netherlands. The reputation of Erpenius spread through the whole of civilized Europe. The Kings of England and Spain, several Princes, and the Archbishop of Seville, gave him the most flattering invitations to their several countries, but he would not again leave his own, and died of a contagious disease, on November 13, 1624, aged 40. Perhaps one of his most celebrated works is his "Arabic Grammar," published at Leyden, in 1613, which has been the foundation of almost every subsequent grammar, printed in Europe, down to that of Silvestre de Sacy.—*Biog. Univer.*

have shown in a previous part of this volume, was certainly a great patron, if not an admirer, of the arts and letters. His anxiety to obtain antiquities from the East, when William Petty, the Earl of Arundel's agent was over there for a similar object, and his purchase of the famous collection of Rubens, in 1625, alone entitle him to this distinction. The value and importance of Erpenius' library suggested to Dinley, that Buckingham could not make a purchase "more for his honour," though unfortunately we are unable to say whether it was carried into effect. The Catalogue of the Library alluded to in the letter is unhappily missing.

CXLIII. JOHN DINLEY[73] TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

RIGHT HON^BLE: *Leyden ex Principeto this Saterday morning,* 1625.

ERPENNIUS, who perhaps was knowne to y^r L^p by sight; to mee onely by fame, left a famous Librarie of Manuscripts in the Easterne Languages, to be offered (by his owne order) first unto the States. They, upon his death, referred it to the Curators of this Universitie; who all this while have kept the widow in suspence & now pretend their stock is exhausted & have left her to her best Chapman. Yesterday they gave her libertie; and then I was brought to have a sight of them. I was told that the Jesuites of Anwerpe, of Spaine & of Rome too, have, underhand, imployed some Merchants to buy them in a poke; and surely they have no good end to hunt after such Originalls. I know not what they are, my judgment goeth not beyond my eies, w^ch can onely tell y^r L^p that they are fairely written, in rare paper & w^th exquisite diligence; & so much they deserved in the owners estimation, that besides the great chardge & inquisition over the world to purchase them, he raised of his owne purse, a howse, & a matrix of letters for their impression. The rate of them is 4000 gilders or 400 pounds; upon his death-bed he reckoned that they cost him nere 5000 gild^rs & told his wife that the Bish. of Winchester would give her the monie for them. They seeme to be a treasure of the Orientall toungs & are not likely to lie long on the boord. Wherupon I thought it my dutie to yo^r Lo^p & to our Universities, to give you instant notice therof, that if you shall finde it fittinge, you would please acquaint the Duke [of Buckingham] his Grace w^th the occasion & perswade him that he cannot lay out so small a summe, more for his owne honour. Y^r L^p wilbee a Benefactour too, if you can helpe them into England. I have sent annexed a Catalogue of them, & of the printed too, that Y^r L^p might see all, but the last are of small moment. I shall humbly

[73] In a letter from Sec. Lord Dorchester, dated January, 1629, he says: "Before the newes of this unfortunate accident [the death of the Queen of Bohemia's eldest son] his Ma^tie had given a promise to Mr. Dingley of a reversion of one of the six Clerkes places. And now Mr. Dinglye hath made appeare unto me by a lre from the King of Bohemia, that he is to have the same place about Prince Charles, as he had about the late Prince; his Ma^tie hath, for his better encouragem^t, continued the same purpos for £200:—a yeare towards him." In 1634 he is styled "Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia."

APPENDIX L.

DANIEL MYTTENS.

The following sign manual shows the precise date that King James I. conferred a pension of £50 per annum for life "for his better encouragement in the art and skill of picture drawing," as also when "the picture drawer" was made a free Denizen.

CXLI.

JAMES R.: *Westminster, July* 19, 1624.

James by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, Defendo^{r} of the fayth &c. To the Trẽr, Chauncello^{r} Under trẽr Chamberlaines & Barons of the Excheq^{r} of us, o^{r} heyres and Successo^{rs} now being and that heereafter shalbee, and to all other y^{e} Offic^{rs} and Minist^{rs} of the said Court and of the Receipt for the tyme beeing, and to all others to whome it shall or may apperteyne greeting. Knowe ye, that wee, as well for and in consideracõn of the good service donne unto us by Daniell Mittins, and for his better encouragem^{t} in the art and skill of picture drawing, w^{ch} hee now professeth, as for divers other good causes and consideracõns us heereunto moving, Have given and graunted, and by theis presents for us o^{r} heyres and successors, doe give and graunt unto the said Daniell Mittins, as well the some of twenty five pounds to be payed in hand from the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist last past [24 June]. As alsoe one Annuity or yearely pension of fifty pounds of lawfull English money by the yeare. To have and to hold, the said Annuity or yearely pension of fifty pounds of lawfull English money by the yeare to the said Daniel Mittins and his assignes, from the feast of the Birth of o^{r} Lord God last past beefore the date heereof, for and during the naturall life of him the said Daniel Mittins. To perceive, receive, and take the said Annuity or yearely pension of fifty poundes of lawfull English money by the yeare, at the receipt of the Excheq^{r} of us o^{r} heyres and Successo^{rs}, out of the Treasure of us o^{r} heyres and successo^{rs} there, to bee and remayne by the hands of the Trẽr Undertrẽr and Chamberleynes of the said Excheq^{r} for the tyme beeing, or some, or one of them, at the feasts of the Birth of o^{r} Lord God and the Nativity of St. John Baptist by even and equall porcõns during the life of the said Daniell Mittins to bee payed. The first paim^{t} thereof to begin at the feast of the Birth of o^{r} Lord God next ensuing the date heereof; Wherefore o^{r} will and pleasure is, And wee doe, by theis presents, for us, o^{r} heyres & successo^{rs}, commaund and authorize the Trẽr, Chauncello^{r} Undertrẽr Chamberleynes and Barons of the said Excheq^{r} for the time beeing it and all other the Offic^{rs} and Ministers of the said Courte and of the receipt there for the time beeing, That they and every of them to whome it doth or shall apperteine, doe, not onely upon the sight of theis

o^r^ Lrẽs patents, or thinrollment of them, pay and deliver, or cause to bee payed and delivered unto the said Daniell Mittins or his assignes, during the naturall life of the said Daniell, the said Annuity or yearely pension of fifty pounds, and the said somme of Twenty five pounds payable in hand as aforesaid. But doe alsoe give full allowance thereof, according to the true intent and meaning of theis presents; Any order, direccõn, commaund, or declaracõn of o^r^ pleasure signified, and given by o^r^ Lrẽs patents under o^r^ greate seale of England, bearing date the fifteenth day of May, w^ch^ was in the sixteenth yeare of o^r^ reigne of England, for restraynt of paiement, or allowance of pensions or annuityes, or any other restraynt, declaracõn, matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notw^thstanding^. And theis o^r^ Lrẽs Patents, or thinrollment thereof, shalbee, unto the said Trẽr, Chauncello^r^, Undertrẽr and Barons, and all other the Office^rs^ and Minist^rs^ aforesaid, a sufficient warrant and discharge for the paying, performing, doing, and executing of the premisses according to o^r^ pleasure heerein beefore declared. Nevertheles o^r^ will and pleasure is, That the said Daniell Mittens shall faithfullie and diligently attend the service of us o^r^ heires & successo^rs^ in the said art and skill of picture drawing. And therefore it is hereby condicõned & provided that in case he shall departe or goe out of this realme without leave or warrant of us o^r^ heires or succ^rs^, or of sixe or more of the privie Councell of us o^r^ heires or succ^rs^ under their handes, or, being within the realme, shall refuse, or wilfullie neglect such service & imploym^t^ for us o^r^ heires or succ^rs^ in the said art and skill of picture drawing as shalbe reasonable required of him, then and from thenceforth this present grant shall cease, determine, & be utterly voide & of none effecte. Although expresse mencõn &c. In witnes &c. witnes &c.

Exam^r^
THOMAS COVENTRYE.

IT MAIE PLEASE YOUR MOST EX^T^ MA^TIE^:

THIS bill conteyneth your Ma^tes^ graunte unto Daniel Mittins of a pencõn of £50 p Ann: during his life, payable out of the Exchequer. To comence from Christmas laste, which your Ma^ie^ is pleased to bestowe upon him for his better encouragem^t^ in the art and skill of picture drawing.

And is done upon warrant from y^e^ Erle of Midd: late Lord Thrẽãr.

THOMAS COVENTRYE.

Exp^r^ apud Westm^r^ decimo nono die Julii
Anno R Jacobi vicessimo secundo.

King James I., on the same day, signed a "Bill [which] conteyneth yo^r^ Ma^tes^ graunte for making of Daniell Mittins (a picture drawer, on whome yo^r^ Ma^tie^ is pleased to bestowe a pention) a free Denizen.

And is done by direction from y^e^ Princes highnes signified by S^r^ Francis Cottington."

THOMAS COVENTRYE.

attend y^r L^ps order, w^ch I beseech may bee hastened w^th y^r L^ps convenience, that wee be not prevented. Ever remaining,

Y^r L^ps most faithfull
Servant & Honourer
Jo. Dinley.

My Master kisseth y^r L^ps hands.

APPENDIX N.

LETTERS FROM BAUDIUS TO RUBENS.

The following letters from the "*Epistolæ*," or, as they are sometimes called, "*The Elegant Epistles of Baudius*," although to be found in most libraries, have not, I believe, ever before been translated into English. They will not therefore, perhaps, be thought out of place, more particularly as they relate to persons and events spoken of in the preceding part of this volume. Baudius wrote the first letter very shortly after the death of the great Flemish Artist's only brother, Philip Rubens, to whose memory he pays a hearty and glowing tribute; and in the others we see additional proofs of the high estimation in which Rubens was universally held, at this comparatively early period of his life.

[*Translated from the Latin letter No.* LII.]

CXLIV. DOMINIC BAUDIUS[74] TO PETER PAUL RUBENS

At Antwerp sends greeting: *October* 4, 1611.

I was happy that an opportunity was offered to me of writing to you by this bearer, who courteously undertook the office, mention being made of your illustrious name. But the more readily and willingly I attempt this literary duty, the more grievous and sharp was it for me to hear, whilst at

[74] Dominic Baudius was born at Lisle, April 8, 1561. He began his studies at Aix-la-Chapelle, and then went to Leyden and Geneva, where he studied Divinity. At Leyden he was admitted Doctor of Laws in June 1585; soon afterwards visited England, where he made the acquaintance of Sir Philip Sidney, and other persons of distinction. After going to France, where he remained ten years, he became, in 1602, Professor of Eloquence and History in the University of Leyden. In 1611, he was appointed, by the States General, Historiographer. He was a strenuous advocate for a truce between the States and Spain, and was the author of "The History of the Truce." Baudius was a man of considerable learning, and wrote Latin with great purity and elegance. Some of his poems he dedicated to King James I., others to the Prince of Wales. He disgraced his latter years by intemperance and debauchery, and died at Leyden, August 22, 1613, aged 52.—*Chalmers.*

Brussels, of the premature departure of your brother to the blest abodes ;[75] a man of erudition, without pride, and than whom no one ever bore riper fruit to the discipline of the great Lipsius. I will not now force upon your meditation, the admonitions of sacred Scripture by which wounded spirits are restored to health, for they are already well known to you, who, to the adornment of exquisite art, have united the study of the liberal sciences and the glory of learning ; besides, even if reason should not have assuaged your grief, surely time will now have diminished, in a great measure, the violence of your emotion and sorrow. His loss was indeed a common sorrow, and, like a public calamity, justly to be lamented by all those who have and venerate learning, virtue and probity. I may address you in the language of Homer—"But although very much grieved, let us leave that which is past, for there is not any use in chill grief." It remains for us to cherish the affection of one, who is absent, with pleasing remembrance, which I do with a good courage ; but with what words, with what style shall I leave attested to posterity, and those who now live, how intimately dear your brother was to my heart. "For his Glory shall never be extinguished." Your name is celebrated in the fame of this illustrious brother.

"Can we believe it, or do those who love paint visions themselves ?" I know not what lucky rumour brought the news to our ears that you have an intention to visit these parts ; you will come beloved and wished for by all ingenuous admirers of talent ; amongst the foremost, by myself, in whose breast you have implanted the sting of reverence and admiration. Not without a certain sacred dread have I contemplated the monuments of your genius, vieing with the truth of nature. Hail, Apelles of our Age ! Would that Alexander could have been acquainted with your genius and merits, although the present age is not so bad and uncharitable, but that very many exist both capable of appreciating and remunerating your most excellent works and labours. But we (as is the fate of people taken from amongst the vulgar) will endeavour in this garrison of mortal life to defend the not unhonourable post assigned to us. And now to sack Sparta, which has been adjudged to us by the decree of the illustrious order, I shall strive most earnestly that it may not disgrace, nor cause to repent the first men of the age, amongst whom you hold a distinguished place, to have made my friendship. I desire this letter may be the bond of this vow and resolution, and I beg and entreat you, as an eternal favour, that you will not disdain to include me in your love. Given at Amsterdam, in the house of my kinsman, who, although unknown to you by sight, adores you with the greatest devotion, as well known to him by fame. I desire much health to be wished from me to John Vanden Wouwer,[76] a man of cordial manners, and one to whom I confess that I am bound by many obligations : also to your Father-in-law, and likewise to Francis Swert,[77] a man of the most refined accom-

[75] A translation of the Latin Epitaph written by Peter Paul Rubens on his brother Philip's Tomb, will be found, ante p. 6, note 19. But there is clearly an error [copied from Michel, p. 84] in the year assigned to Philip's death, as also in his age. In the year MDCXIX., the last x should be omitted, which will be the correct date, 1611. There is also an error in Philip's age ; he was only thirty-seven ; not thirty-nine, as stated by Michel.

[76] See ante, p. 113, note 144.

[77] See his letter to Camden, ante, p. 25, also note 64.

plishments and of unimpeachable generosity, as also to any other of your friends who do not find it too much trouble to remember me. I cannot pass over Otto Venius,[78] without a sin; he was formerly my companion in study, and is now particularly endeared to me, for many reasons.

Again, farewell! Excuse my boldness in venturing to write to you.

D. Baudius.

[*Translated from the Latin letter No.* XLVII.]

CXLV. DOMINIC BAUDIUS TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

At Antwerp sends greeting: *Lyons,* 11 *April,* 1612.

Lest I should seek refuge in the vain subterfuges of excuse, I will openly confess that the blame of such long silence is to be assigned to forgetfulness and negligence. For ever since the day I left you, the business of courting has so entirely engrossed my attention, that I have been neglectful of every other duty of life and friendship; now my wishes are at rest in the shallow of good hope, and I expect shortly will be accomplished. As the two first ornaments of the Belgic youth, Grotius and Heinsius, whom I embrace with paternal affection, are writing the nuptial song for me, which I trust will be a witness to posterity on monuments enduring for ever. If you should think worthy to honour us with any specimen of your skill, I will owe you eternal thanks on that account, and in return they shall be paid by me,

"Whatsoever care I can promise in my art."

Would that a desire to visit these parts might seize you. You would find not inexperienced appreciators of your industry, amongst whom are those two luminaries of whom I have before spoken. Nor are there wanting those who celebrate the glories of the pencil. Michel von Mirevelt[79] is long since known to fame, and, in the opinion of rightly thinking men, there follows great praise, not without profit, by painting the countenances of men to the life. Many others also flourish in these provinces; but to say plainly what I feel, they do not approach to the excellence of your works, if we have practised eyes that can judge of such things at their right value. I am not given to flattering, nor ought this stigma to fall on a generous breast, but I speak as I think. I cannot contemplate, without awe, the works of your hands; they will live as long as art itself; the emulatrix of nature and human genius shall be celebrated on earth. But, as I said in the commencement of my letter, I am entirely absorbed in courting, and have poured out about a thousand stanzas on the object of my love, in which I have expressed to the life the varied emotions of those who are chained by this amiable madness. Perhaps they will see the light, though not without the favour of my literary friends, unless vulgar self-love deceives me. You, who are wont to embrace all our performances with reckless favour, will not take amiss a little boasting, a vice appertaining

[78] See ante, p. 2, note 5.
[79] See ante, p. 291, note 20.

to men of genius, and more especially to the race of poets, whom therefore I think are under the tutelage of Phœbus, who presides in medicine, because they have not a sound mind, and seem to require a keeper. Now, in my case, love is added to poetry, like oil to the flame, lest anything should be wanting to the making of a poet, madly perfect in every number. For Plato, the prince of genius and learning, denies that you could ever force the poetic doors without the sacred fire of the Muses. But this fury is to be wished for by all who are wise at heart, though intensely bitter in the breast, as they who have felt it can boast with the witty bard,

"There is a God in us, we warm at his instigation."

This impulse of the mind has its sacred seeds. But enough of this foolery; it seems to be time to finish this trifling letter with the customary formula. Farewell, love us, and greatly increase your fortune and your fame. Will you wish much health, in my name, to your father-in-law and to all your family.

Given at Lyons, the 11 April, 1612.

On the monument of the celebrated painter, Peter Rubens, and his wife, designed by himself, vieing with the truth of nature.

You possess the face of the Prince of Painters with your faithful wife, a sweet pair whom the ancient order has scarcely produced. He, emulous, rivals nature by his hand and art. She surpasses even the Cyprian Goddess in the honour of beauty. Agreed in all other things, the only dispute between them, which of the two will excel in affection and love.

[*Translated from the Latin letter No.* LXIX.]

CXLVI. DOMINIC BAUDIUS TO PETER PAUL RUBENS.

AT ANTWERP SENDS GREETING: *Lyons, February* 21, 1613.

I HAVE been requested, by a mutual friend and a singular admirer of your genius, Bartholomew Ferrerio, to recommend to your kindness his son, who, for the understanding of his years, successfully aspires to the glory of the pencil. I am unwilling to diminish the influence which you kindly permit me to have with you, in indiscriminate requests; therefore, until now, I have opposed delay to the wishes of the father, an old companion of mine, that, at my asking, you might be able to make him obliged to you by an imperishable act of kindness. If you will prevail on Francis Snyders[80] to agree to take the youth, not only as a pupil of his art, but as a member of his family, that he may be able to perform assiduous service to his master. His father will not spare any expense, and will acknowledge himself infinitely beholden to both of you. At the time I write this I am exceedingly occupied; at a future time I will enter into further particulars. I have read with great pleasure and advantage the 'Elogia Ciceroniana' of your father-in-law, a man of great taste, especially the epistle which breathes throughout the spirit

[80] See ante, p. 23, note 55.

of Ciceronian eloquence. I think you have already heard by report that I am again enrolled in the company of husbands. It happens that my wife is entirely to my desire, yea (but let this dreadful secret perish in your breast) beyond my expectation. In the August holidays, if opportunity offers, I shall come to see you with my Juno, that I may earnestly remind you of your promise, which I consider the principal part of my fortune. For good names do not become evil by so calling. Farewell, and pardon haste.

Given at Lyons the 9th of the Kalends of March [February 21], 1613.

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1633. Earl of Arundel.
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—— Sir Isaac Wake.
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THE END.

BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

ERRATA.

Page 52, *note* 82, 4th line from top, *for* "Carachi," *read* "Carracci."

„ 118, „ 150, 30th line from top, *for* "Sir Dudley Carleton," *read* "Dudley Carleton."

„ 134, „ 179, 6th line from top, *after* "Anna, daughter of," *insert* "Dorothy, daughter of."

„ 150, 15th line from top of page, *for* "duty," *read* "devotion."

„ 154, *note* 207, 4th line from top, *to* "January, 1630," *add* "old style."

„ 196, *letter* clxxxiii., 7th line from top, *for* "at thand," *read* "att hand."